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OUTLINES OF AMERICAN HISTORY

1783



1861

HOWARD W. CALDWELL

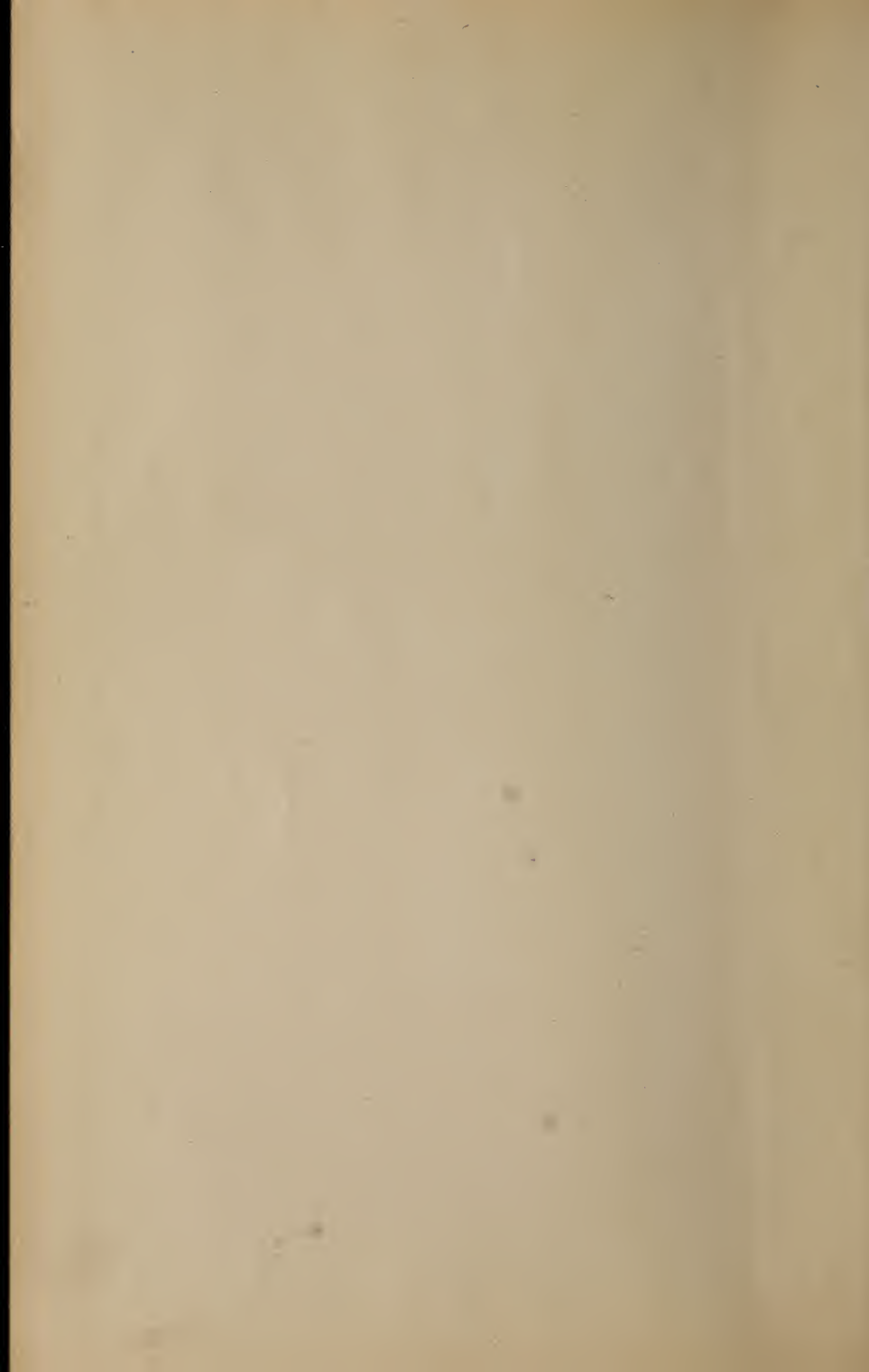


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Book 2

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OUTLINES OF AMERICAN HISTORY
1785-1861

OUTLINES
OF
AMERICAN HISTORY
1785-1861

WITH REFERENCES AND QUESTIONS

FOR USE IN COLLEGES, NORMAL SCHOOLS, AND
ADVANCED CLASSES IN HIGH SCHOOLS

BY
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UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA



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INTRODUCTION.

(1) *Outline.* This outline is the result of evolution, and is the product of nearly twenty years experience in the teaching of American history in the University of Nebraska. It goes without saying that it represents the author's ideas of the things that may best be emphasized, and his theory in regard to the leading periods into which these years may be grouped in order to show the "evolution" of American history in its most important phases. No attempt has been made to include all events, or even to call attention to many important ones. Something has to be eliminated in a general course given in one year, and the omissions are made on the ground that on the whole the things omitted are less essential to an understanding of the "movement" of our history than those included. Where other teachers use these outlines as the basis of class work, omissions and additions may be made to suit conditions.

(2) *Questions.* The questions may be used in whole or in part. They are intended to emphasize some of the most important points in the topic under discussion and to direct attention to matter not directly included in the outline.

These questions may be used as the means for oral or written work or as the basis of note-book work. It is believed definiteness is secured when specific questions are thus given to be looked up.

(3) *References.* The references include a large portion of the most available works on American history. An effort has been made to arrange the books in such an order as to give the student an outline of the topic in the very latest and best works on the point under discussion. Then more detailed or less available works follow. Secondary and source materials are classified separately. Collections of sources rather than the original sources are given first since they are everywhere available, and very frequently include all the matter that the time of the student will permit him to use. No attempt has been made to make these references exhaustive, only usable.

When students desire to pursue a topic into minute detail additional references may be found in bibliographic aids, such as are found in the Critical Essay in each volume of the American Nation Series, or in Channing and Hart Guide, in Poole, Index to Magazine Literature, or in the many other works on bibliography.

(4) *Titles.* No attempt has been made to give exact titles to books or sets. The best known works or sets, where no probability exists of confusion, have been referred to under the name of the author.

(5) The Dewey system is used in most libraries. The catalogue numbers that will enable a student to find the books on the shelves are as follows:

- (a) General Works. 973 to 973.8.
- (b) Biography. 923.173.
- (c) Works Statesmen. 308.73.
- (d) Slavery—Special. 326.9.
- (e) Government and Constitution. 342.73.
- (f) Diplomacy. 341 to 341.7.
- (g) Travel. 917.3.
- (h) Economic. 330.973.
- (i) Industrial. 330.973.
- (j) Bibliographical. 016.973.

(6) *Reading.* No one reference will give all the information needed on any outline. Sometimes it will be necessary to refer to several works before finding answers to all the points covered in analysis and questions. The author also believes that the same topic ought to be investigated as far as time will permit in both secondary and source material, and when possible in two or more accounts. Some topics may most advantageously be begun in the sources, while others must be approached through secondary works. The up-to-date teacher will indicate from time to time which method to follow.

In some cases special or specific references have been made to monographs, or to material that is almost essential to a reasonably intelligent study of the topic.

The amount of reading per week will vary, but no student can expect to make any satisfactory preparation on less than two hours careful reading on each outline. Of course the number of pages will vary with the book, but on an average some 40 or 50 pp. per outline should be regarded as a minimum preparation.

(7) *Texts.* Each student ought to have at hand one or more good brief texts to use as a basis of reading, to secure continuity and to refer to for quick information.

In addition the real student will begin to build up a library of his own. To aid such, a brief list of the most convenient works covering the whole period is given at the beginning of the outline. In addition a briefer collection is named at the introduction of each general period.

(8) *Personnel.* The experience of the author convinces him that most young people who come to college have no information in regard even to the names of the men who have been prominent in our history. There has therefore been appended to each day's lesson the names of a few men who were prominent at the time. A little information in regard to each should be acquired; so much at least as the name of the State from which the man came, his chief work, and his character. Somewhat careful studies are outlined for the two or three men in each period who were representative leaders.

(9) *Examinations, reports, &c.* Oral and written reviews should be frequent, not so much to test for grades, as to be a part of the instruction. Lectures alone, readings and reports, oral quizzes are not enough. Written quizzes to secure definiteness and to let the student see just what he can do, and to inform the teacher of his own success, are parts of a system of instruction. Marks and grades should be made not the end, but only one of the smallest means to the end.

(10) *Hope.* It is not expected that no errors have crept into the outline or the references, but it is hoped that in neither may they be very numerous; and, on the other hand, it is hoped that some aid may be found in this outline to the many faithful but hard worked teachers of American history.

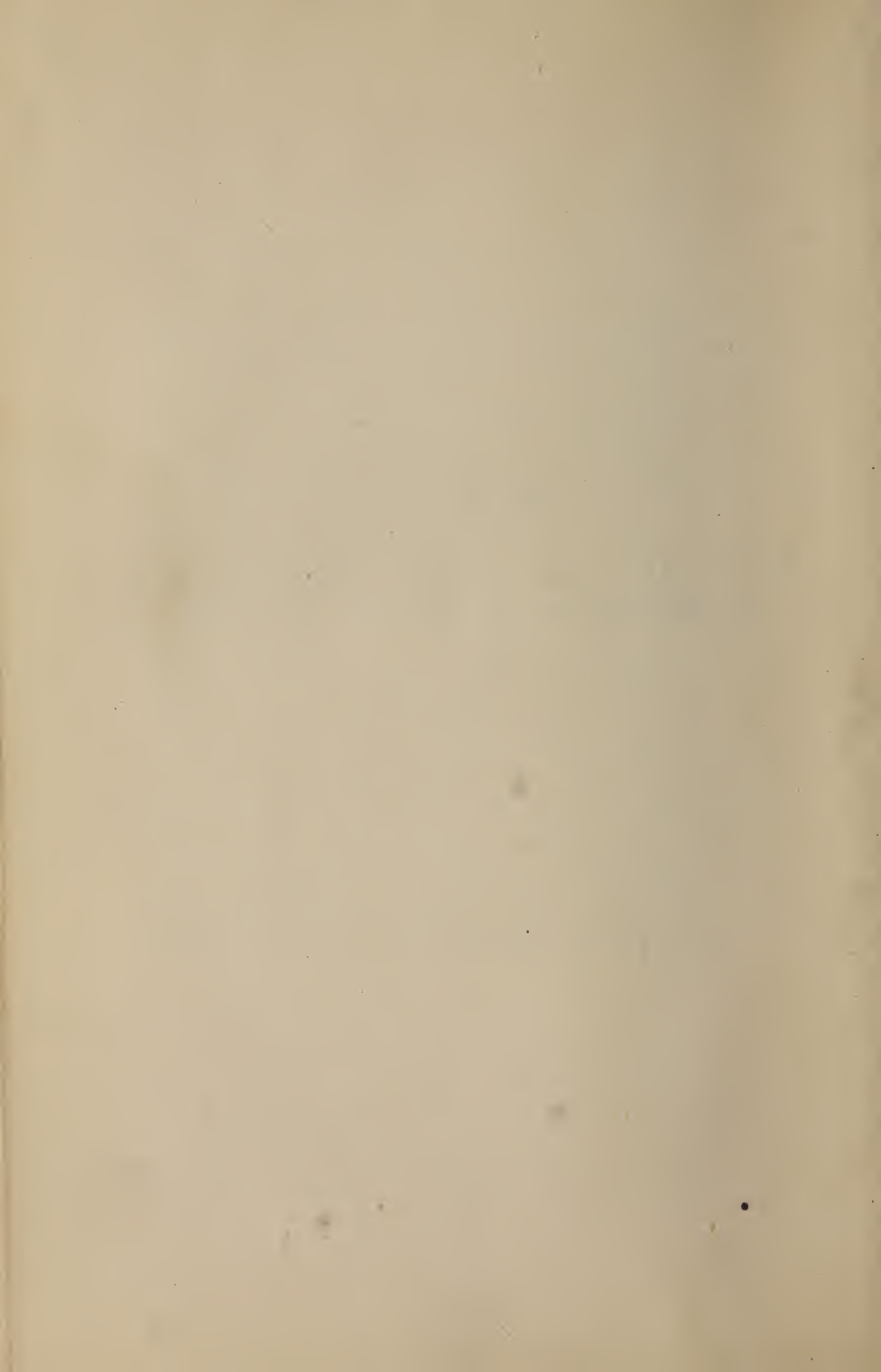
GENERAL REFERENCES, 1785-1860.

Secondary: The Am. Nation Series, Vols. X-XX; McMaster; Schouler; Woodrow Wilson, Vols. III-V; Von Holst; Rhodes, Vols. I-III; The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VII; Scribner's History of the United States; The Epoch Series, Vols. II and III; The Am. Hist. Series, Vols. III-V; The Am. Statesman Series; The Am. Commonwealth Series; Johnston, Am. Politics; Woodburn-Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist.; Woodburn Political Parties; Stanwood, History of the Presidency, Gordy, Political Hist.; McClure, Our Presidents and How They Are Made; Fess, Political Theory and Party Organization; H. Wilson. Rise and Fall of Slave Power, I and II; Smith, Political Hist. of Slavery; Du Bois, Suppression of the Slave Trade; Trent, Southern Statesmen of the Old Regime; Landon, Constitutional History of U. S.; Thorpe, A Short Constitutional History; McClain, Const. Law; Bryce, Am. Commonwealth; Story, Commentaries; Stanwood, The Tariff Controversy; Taussig, Tariff History; Sparks, Expansion of the Am. People; Young, Am. Statesman; Dewey, Financial History; Wright, Industrial History; Coman, Industrial History, Bogart, Economic History; Foster, A Century of Diplomacy; J. F. Jameson, Dictionary of Am. History, (2 vols); Larned, Hist. for Ready Reference (5-vols).

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, Source History; Caldwell, Territorial Expansion; Caldwell, Am. Legislators; MacDonald, Select Documents, Documentary Source Book; Hart Contemporaries, III and IV; Woodburn, Am. Orations; Harding, Select Orations; Hill Liberty Documents; Cooper, Am. Politics; Am. Hist. Leaflets; Old South Leaflets; Preston, Documents; Richardson, Messages of the Presidents; Benton, Abridgement of Debates; Moore, Digest of International Law; Boyd Cases; McKee, Party Platforms; Beard, Readings in Am. Government; Am. Patriotism; Cluskey, Political Text-Book; Statutes at Large.

PART I

STEPS IN THE FORMATION OF A
DEMOCRATIC NATION, 1785-1843



OUTLINES OF AMERICAN HISTORY

CHAPTER I.

FORMATION OF A NATIONAL CONSTITUTION, 1785-1789.

GENERAL REFERENCES FOR PERIOD, 1785-1789.

Secondary: Bancroft, Hist. of the Constitution; Bancroft, Hist. of U. S. VI; Curtis, Hist. of the Const.; Am. Nat. S. X, 184-317; Frothingham, 586-610; Fiske, The Critical Period, 163-end; McMaster, I, 391-399, 417-427, 436-502; Schouler, I, 39-79; Johnston, I, 72-82; Hildreth, III, 482-526; 533-539; Stephens, War between the States, I, 96-; Thorpe, Const. Hist., I, 291-595; II, 6-153; W. Wilson, III, 61-98; Brown, O. Ellsworth, 107-176; Gordy, Pol. Hist. of U. S. I.

Sources: Caldwell and Persinger, 266-284; Madison's Journal; The Federalist; Yates Minutes; Elliott, Debates; Am. Hist. Leaflet, No. 28; Hart, Contemporaries, III; Am. Hist. Review.

I. STEPS IN THE FORMATION OF A DEMOCRATIC NATION, 1785-1843.

A. FORMATION OF A NATIONAL CONSTITUTION, 1785-1789.

(1) *General Conditions, 1781-1787.*

(a) *Territorial Area.*

- (1) External boundaries, 1783; those in dispute.
- (2) State boundaries; those in controversy.
- (3) Formation of national domain; State cessions; area; effects; survey; sale.
- (4) Ordinance of 1787; leading provisions; authorship; importance.

(b) *Population.*

- (1) Total: distribution—sections; country; city; significance.
- (2) Negro: distribution; slave, free.

(c) *Tendencies.*

- (1) Disintegration: reasons, examples.
- (2) Sectionalism: causes, proofs.
- (3) Lawlessness: spirit, illustrations—Shay's Rebellion, etc.
- (4) Reaction from democracy.

(d) *Forces.*

- (1) Centripetal: basis in race, language, institutions, physical geography, common experiences, necessity.
- (2) Centrifugal: foundation in races, religion, customs, early physical geography, climate, little commerce, long isolation.

Questions: (1) What States had overlapping territorial claims? (2) What the basis of each State's claim? (3) What State did most to lay a foundation for a national domain? (4) What provision made for survey of land in Ordinance of 1785? (5) How many and what stages in status of territories may be recognized in the Ordinance of 1787? (6) What States made land-cessions to the U. S.? (7) Were the governmental problems simpler or more complex in 1785 than now? (8) Has the percentage of negroes increased or decreased? (9) What were the leading causes of Shay's Rebellion? (10) How did it influence the more conservative classes? (11) When were the foundations of State sovereignty laid? (12) Was there a real American people under the Confederation?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. X. 1-183; Schouler, Hist. of the U. S. I, 1-38; McMaster, Hist. of the Am. People, I, 3-4, 8-9, 131-137, 163-166, 210-216, 299-324, 363-370, 382-383; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist. I, 47-55; Hildreth, I, 395-403, 406-408, 465-468, 474; Avery, VI, 374-413; Hill, Liberty Documents, 227-243.

Sources: Treaty of Peace, 1783; State Legislative Acts; Ordinance of 1787.

Specific: (a) Adams, J. H. U. Studies, III, 1-54; Donaldson, Public Domain, 56-88; Caldwell, Territorial Expansion, 26-73; J. Barrett, Ordinance of 1787; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist. I, 83-105; McMaster, I, 505-514; Hinsdale, Old North-West, 263-279; Fiske, Critical Period, 187-196; (b) Census Reports, 1790, 1860, &c.; Thomas, School Hist., Appendix; H. Adams, I, Ch. 1. (c) Burgess, Pol. Sci. and Const. Law, I, 98-101.

(2) *Breakdown of the Confederacy, 1781-1788.*(a) *Confederacy.*

- (1) Definition; characteristics of; location of sovereignty in.
- (2) Previous experiments; in America; in World History.

(b) *Analysis of Articles.*

- (1) Name, sovereignty, purpose.
- (2) Organization machinery of government; Congress, members, powers—executive, judicial, legislative—over army and navy, revenue, foreign relations, commerce.
- (3) Powers: reserved to the States; forbidden—to the States, to the United States; amendment.

(c) *Weaknesses.*

- (1) France: departments of government; a single house; amendments.
- (2) Internal powers: revenue—State tariff acts, effects; requisitions—neglect, refusal—New Jersey, 1786; outcome—accumulation unpaid interest, debts—domestic, foreign; boundaries—open controversies; New York vs. New Hampshire, Penn. vs. Conn., &c.
- (3) Foreign relations: with Great Britain—treaty 1783, Tory property, British debts, the "posts"; with Spain—boundaries, navigation Miss. river, trade; with Barbary powers—tribute, trade on the Mediterranean; commerce—refusal of reciprocity.

(d) *Strength.*

- (1) Citizenship: inter-state.
- (2) A written instrument: definiteness; classification and grant of general powers.

(e) *Amendments.*

- (1) Five per cent. scheme, 1781—outcome; revenue act, 1784-1786—result; national control of commerce, 1786—failure.

Questions: (1) What is meant by sovereignty? (2) Who exercised executive powers under the Confederacy? (3) In what cases did the Confederacy possess judicial powers? (4) What the effect of the States' right to recall and pay members of Congress? (5) Were the "Articles" in form in harmony with the political experiences of the American people? (6) How did the "Articles" on the whole compare with previous confederations? (7) Could one State under the "Articles" levy a tariff duty on imports from another State? (8) What questions in dispute with Great Britain over the treaty of 1783—which the better of the argument? (9) What claim made by United States in regard to navigation of Miss. river? (10) Give the chief provisions of attempts to amend the "Articles," why fail?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. X, 53-183; Schouler, I, 15-38, McMaster, I, 108-416; Hildreth, III, 445-475; Foster, Commentaries, 1-22, 27-41; Woodburn, The Am. Republic, 60-64; Burgess, Const. Hist. and Const. Law, 101-102, 142-154; Fiske, Critical Period, 50-186; W. Wilson, The State, 470-473; Hill, Liberty Documents, 204-226; W. Wilson, III, 20-36; Gordy, Pol. Hist. I, 9-61; Walker, Making of the Nation, 1-20; Schouler, Ideals of the Republic, 182-206; Marshall, Washington, II, 75-93; Schouler, Constitutional Studies, 84-98; Bancroft, Hist. of the Const, I, 1-45, 117-132, 242-266; Curtis, Hist. of the Const. I, 98-228; Story, Commentaries, I, 162-193; Thorpe, Const. Hist. I, 276-282; Young, Am. Statesman, 53-59.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 233-245; The Federalist, Esp. Nos. VII, XV-XXII; Am. Patriotism, 147-150; King, Works, I,

112-113, 115-116 (commerce), 133-134, 140-141 (finance), 135-136, 166-167, 181-184 (foreign); Washington, Works, IX, 139-141, index; Jefferson, Works (Ford ed) IV, 141-144, (commerce), 106-108 (finance), 84-87, 94-97, 209-212, 221-222, 228-229, 263-264, 391-392 (foreign); Bancroft, Hist. of Const. I, app. 485-488, 489-492, 504-508, 511; Am. Hist. Leaflets, No. 28; Elliott Debates, I, 92-115.

3-4) FORMATION OF A NATIONAL CONSTITUTION, 1780-1789.

(3) *The Constitutional Convention, 1787.*

(a) *Definition; importance in American history.*

(b) *The Call.*

(1) Growth of the idea; early suggestions—by individuals, Thos. Paine, P. Webster, Washington, Hamilton,—by State legislatures, N. Y. (1783), Mass. (1785), Va. (1786).

(2) Trade meetings: Va. and Md. at Alexandria and Mt. Vernon (1786); the Annapolis Convention—States present, instructions to N. J. delegates, address to States at Hamilton and Madison's initiative (1786).

(3) Approval: by Congress, Feb. 21, 1787.

(c) *Sanction of Call.*

(1) Public sentiment: transformation during winter of 1786-1787.

(2) Reasons: trade, public credit, commerce unsatisfactory; the N. J. requisition controversy; failure of amendments—action N. Y.; anarchy—Shay's Rebellion; paper money crisis; awakening of conservative and well-to-do classes; making Washington a delegate.

(d) *Organization of Convention, May 25, 1787.*

(1) Organization: officers, rules.

(2) Members: total number—appointed, attending; great leaders; general character—age, education, class; jealousies, varying interests; lack precedents.

(3) Distinguished absentees: names; reasons.

Questions: (1) When and where was the first American Constitutional convention held? (2) How explain the coming into being of constitutional conventions? (3) Is the action of a constitutional convention final? (4) How explain the failure of the Annapolis meeting, 1786, and the success of the Convention of 1787? (5) Were the members of the convention in the main radicals or conservatives? (6) Why did Patrick Henry refuse to attend? (7) What half dozen members would you choose as most important—and why?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. X. 138-167, 184-200; McMaster, I, 300-325, 334-341, 363-366, 390-399, 417-423;

Schouler, I, 25-38, 39-43; Fiske, Crit. Period, 168-186, 214-232; Gordy, I, 52-70; McMaster, With the Fathers, 107-150; Schouler, Ideals of the Republic, 111-132, Roosevelt, G. Morris, 108-130; Franklin, 397-405; Gay, Madison, 84-90; Lodge Hamilton, 49-63; Lodge, Washington, II, 1-36; Morse, Hamilton, 176-196; Hildreth, III, 482-484; Von Holst, I, 1-44; Thorpe, Short Const. Hist. 18-34; Curtis, Hist. of Const. I, 225-314; Bancroft, Hist. of Const. I, 249-253, 267-278; II, 3-10; Avery, VI, 418-421; Jamison, The Constitutional Convention; Hunt, Madison, 108-115; Young, Am. Statesman, 60-61.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger 266-268; Hart, Contemporaries III, 177-211; Elliott, I, 116-120, 139-143; Madison, Journal (Scott) 38-41; Jefferson, Works (Ford ed) IV, 424-426, 437-438; Washington, (Lodge ed) IX, 162, 167, 223-224, 229-230, 241-242, 510-512; Madison (Congress), I, 118-119, 156-157, 170-172, 206-207, 228-229, 278-279; Madison, Journal: The Federalist.

Special: Am. Hist. Ass. Reports (1902), 87-168.

(4) *The Constitution, 1787.*

(a) *The Convention at Work.*

(1) Powers delegates: State instructions—meaning.

(2) Procedure: introduction plans—the Va. (Madison) and the Pinckney draft, May 29; discussion of the Va. plan, May 29—June 15; the New Jersey (Patterson) draft, June 15; the Hamilton sketch, June 18; the second debate on Va. plan, June 18—July 26; committee on detail, July 26—Aug. 6; third debate, Aug. 6—Sept. 12; committee on style; final debate; signing, Sept. 17.

(3) Compromises: large vs. small states or Connecticut; representation and direct taxes—the three-fifths compromise; importation negroes and navigation; minor ones.

(b) *Result, the Constitution.*

Questions: (1) Did the members of the convention act in harmony with their instructions? (2) What were the essential characteristics of each plan? (3) What two chief theories advocated in the Convention? (4) What plans were regarded as representative of each theory? (5) What do we know definitely in regard to the Pinckney plan? (6) What was the so-called Connecticut Compromise? (7) What combination of interests secured the adoption of the three-fifths compromise? (8) What interests combined on the slave-trade compromise? (9) How well satisfied were the members of the convention at its close with their work?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. X. 201-276; McMaster I, 438-453; Schouler, I, 41-53; Gordy, I, 75-91; Hildreth, III, 484-530; Frothingham, Rise of the Republic, 591-599; Fiske, Critical Period, 230-305; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 70-82; Von

Holst. I, 44-53; H. Wilson, I, 39-56; Avery, VI, 421-437; Brown Ellsworth, 107-176; Foster, Commentaries 80-92; Story, Commentaries I, 194-205; Young, Am. Statesman, 61-73; Lodge, Hamilton, 49-82; Roosevelt, G. Morris, 120-145; Morse, Hamilton, 191-238; Lodge, Washington II, 1-46; Bancroft, Hist. of Const. II, 10-222; Curtis, Hist. of Const. I, 333-622; Thorpe, Const. Hist. I, 314-595; Short Const. Hist., 38-81; Burgess, Const. Hist. and Const. Law, I, 102-108.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 268-282; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 211-232; Elliott, Debates, I, 143-320; Madison Journal; Yates, Minutes in Elliott, I, 389-482; Bancroft, Hist. of Const, II, App.. 421-423, 424-425; Documentary Hist. of Const. of U. S., 5 volumes.

Special: Am. Hist. Review, III, 310-334; IX, 479-489; X, 97-109; XIII, 44-65; Annual Report, Am. Hist. Ass., (1903) 71-84, Pol. Sci. Q. 1897.

- (5) *The Constitution Before the People, 1787-1790.*
- (a) *Division of Opinion.*
 - (1) Federalists: right to name; for ratification; composition; location greatest strength; leading arguments; reasons for success.
 - (2) Anti-Federalists: name; membership; location of greatest strength; chief arguments; leaders; reasons for failure.
- (b) *Action and Results.*
 - (1) By Congress: approval; recommendation to States; spirit.
 - (2) By States: 1787—Dec. 6, Del. (unanimous), Dec. 12, Pa. (46-23), Dec. 18, N. J. (unanimous); 1788—Jan. 2, Ga. (unanimous), Jan. 9, Conn. (128-40), Feb. 7, Mass. (189-179), Apr. 28, Md. (63-11), May 23, S. C. (149-73), June 21, N. H. (57-46), June 25, Va. (89-79), July 26, N. Y. (30-27); 1789—Nov. 21, N. C. (193-75); 1790—May 29, R. I. (34-32).
 - (3) Suggestions: amendments—first by Mass.; of a second convention.
- (c) *Problems.*
 - (1) Ratification: forms, in whose name, on what times and conditions; theories.
 - (2) Sources: Dutch in substance—Douglas Campbell; English imitation—Sir Henry Maine; original with Convention—Gladstone; a colonial product in main—Fisher; a composite—general view.
 - (3) Relatively new features: a written instrument; constitutional function of Supreme Court; attempt at dual statehood; popular

sovereignty; elaborate scheme of checks and balances; securing good government by means of machinery.

- (4) Some of unsettled issues: status slavery; tenure of officials; acquisition territory; right of secession; bill of rights, &c.

Questions: (1) In what States was the opposition to the Constitution strongest—how explain? (2) What interest was almost solidly for; what one largely against? (3) What attitude did former tories take towards the Constitution? (4) Did the States in accepting the Constitution believe their acceptance was irrevocable? (5) Who ratified the Constitution? (6) What unique function does our Supreme Court perform? (7) Has the attempted division of sovereignty succeeded? (8) Were Rhode Island and North Carolina ever out of the Union? (9) What do you understand by a system of checks and balances?—illustrate. (10) Name the source material for a study of the Constitutional Convention.

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. X. 277-317; McMaster, I, 454-524; Schouler, I, 53-79; W. Wilson Hist. Am. People, III, 94-98; Gordy, I, 92-102; Hildreth, III, 530, 533-539; IV, 25-27; Von Holst, I, 53-63; Fiske, Critical Period, 306-345; Schouler, Const. Studies, 90-200; D. Campbell, The Puritans in their Three Houses, I, 1-89; Story, Commentaries, I, 206-220; W. Wilson, The State, 452f; Thorpe, Short Const. Hist. 82-91; Young, Am. Statesman, 73-74; Morgan, The True Patrick Henry, 327-364; Gay, Madison, 110-121; Magruder, Marshall, 56-86; Morse, Hamilton, 238-275; Lodge, Hamilton, 64-79; Hunt, Madison, 137-166; Lodge, Washington II, 36-41.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 278-284; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 233-254; Stephens, War Between the States, I, ch. 4; Elliott. Debates, I, 318-337; II; III; Wilson 453f, Marshall 222-236, Madison 66-97, P. Henry 137f; Ford, Essays; The Federalist and Other Papers; Harding, Select Orations, 47-51, 52-121.

Special: Libby, Bulletin, Uni. of Wisconsin, I (1894); Annals of Am. Academy, I, 203-243, 529-557; Douglas Campbell, The Puritan in His Three Houses, 1-89; Hosmer's Anglo-Saxon Freedom; Stephens Sources of the Constitution; Maine, Essays on Popular Govt.; Fisher, Evolution of the Const.

CHAPTER II.

INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION, 1789-1801.

GENERAL REFERENCES, FOR THE PERIOD, 1789-1801.

Secondary: American Nation Series, Vol. XI; McMaster, I, 525-604; II, 1-582; Schouler, I, 84-514; Hildreth, IV, V, 1-418; Gordy, I, 75-380; W. Wilson, III, 98-174; Scribner, IV, 104-144; Winsor Narrative and Critical History, VII, Table Contents; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 106-252; Fess, Political Theory and Party Organization, 1-90; Young, Am. Statesman, 75-195; Roosevelt, Winning of the West, III, 231-330; IV, 1-213; Lodge, Washington, II, 48-395; Lodge, Hamilton, 84-236; Morse, Hamilton I, 276-425; Merwin, Jefferson, 82-112; Schouler, Jefferson, 153-197; Randall, Jefferson, I, 594-645, II, 1-483; Adams, Gallatin, 76-266; Gay, Madison, 110-246; Landon, Constitutional History, 97-134; Thorpe, Short Constitutional Hist., 82-130; Trescott, Diplomacy of the Administrations of Washington and Adams; Foster, Century of Diplomacy, 136-181; Dewey, Financial Hist. of U. S., 60-115; Coman, Industrial Hist., 129-170; H. Wilson, I, 57-78; Elson, Hist. U. S., 337-375; Stanwood, Hist. of the Presidency, 1-53.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 285-307; MacDonald, Select Documents, 46-160; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 282-339; Writings Washington (Sparks ed.); IX, 457-482, X, XI, XII; MacKay, Journal; Jefferson Works (Ford) V, VI, VII; Hamilton, Works (Lodge) Index, Benton, I, II, 1-539; Richardson, Messages, I, 1-321.

B. INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION, BROAD CONSTRUCTION; GOVERNMENT BY CLASS; THE FEDERALISTS, 1789-1801.

(1) *Leaders of Federal Period, 1789-1801.*

(a) *George Washington.*

(1) Early Years: family, birth, environment, personal appearance, education: surveyor, soldier.

(2) Characteristics: moral—honesty, unselfishness, love justice, temper—self-control, courage; intellectual—orderliness, judgment, devotion to public welfare, dignity, common sense.

(3) Soldier: career—qualities.

(4) Statesman: during revolution and confederation; preparation for presidency.

(b) *John Adams.*

(1) The Adams family: his surroundings, education, career in Massachusetts.

- (2) Revolutionary leader: in Mass. legislature; in Congress; as a diplomat, 1783-89.
- (3) Characteristics: scholar, author, writer on government; moral-puritanic, egotistic, jealous; intellectual—cold, logical; patriotic, intensely American.
- (c) *Alexander Hamilton.*
- (1) Early life: families, birth, life in West Indies—clerk, student, writer, education.
- (2) In America: education; espouses Am. cause—speeches, writings.
- (3) Revolutionary Career: in army with Washington, student of law, marriage.
- (4) Characteristics: simple, open, bold, dashing, brilliant, precocious; not omniscient in tastes; direct in methods; honest, just, moral in main.
- (5) Interests: political—government, legal; military; financial; administrative; education; the practical.
- (6) Principals: aristocratic, paternalistic, lover of order, law, system, authority, precedent, industry.
- (7) Powers: deficiencies—not a creator, nor idealist; not good leader of men—only of leaders; little faith in fellow men; strength—an orator, logician, administrator, financier.

Questions: (1) Describe Washington's personal appearance. (2) What were two of his greatest qualities? (3) What acts of Washington mark the statesman? (4) Compare the education of Washington and Adams. (5) What qualities of Adams had given him the foremost place among New England statesmen? (6) In what respects was Hamilton the superior of both Washington and Adams? (7) In what qualities inferior to both? (8) Compare the three men in moral qualities. (9) What especial work had each done previous to 1789?

References: (a) "Washington"; Lodge, Washington, 2 vols.; Ford, The True Geo. Washington; W. Wilson, Washington; Irving, Washington, 5 vols.; Marshall, Washington, 2 vols.; Wistar, Seven Ages of Washington; Trent, Southern Statesmen of Old Régimé, 3-45; Sparks, Men Who Made the Nation; Everett, Washington; Ames, Works, 115-133; Schouler, I, 133-139, 350-357, index; Am. Nat. S. and all general histories; Poole, Magazine Lit.

Source: Works—Editions by Sparks, by Ford; Richardson, Messages, Vol. I, 42-224.

(b) "J. Adams"; Morse, Adams; Chamberlain, The Statesman of the Revolution; Sparks, Men Who Made the Nation, 79-118; McClure, Our Presidents, 7-20; Am. Hist. Review, II, 241-261; IV, 292-312; New Eng. Mag. U. S., XVI, 179-193; Arena, XXIV,

31-46; Schouler, I, 505-512 and index; All general histories; Poole, Magazine Lit.

Source: Works, Edition by C. F. Adams; Familiar Letters; Richardson, Messages, I, 228-316; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 205-211, 319-321, Am. Patriotism, 150-177.

(c) "A. Hamilton"; Sumner, Hamilton; Lodge, Hamilton; Morse, Hamilton, 2 vols.; Oliver, Hamilton; Shea, Hamilton, Smucker, Hamilton; Ames, Works, 282-290; J. C. Hamilton, History of the Republic, 7 vols.; Sparks, Men Who Made the Nation, 151-180; Lodge, Studies in History, 132-181; Schouler, I, 144-152, 185-193, 231-237, 263-275, 416-425 and index; Gordy, Am. Politics, I, 108-117; Fiske, Essays, I, 101-142; All General histories; Poole, Index.

Source: Works, Federal Edition, 12 vols.; MacDonald, Select Documents, 46-112; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 205-211, 286-289; Annals of Congress.

(2) *Putting the New Government into Operation, 1789-1790.*

(a) *Elections.*

(1) Choosing presidential electors: by whose authority, methods; votes—number, distribution; election—Washington, Adams; notifications; journey to New York.

(2) Congressional elections: House, Senate; Federal majority; delay in meeting—causes, effects.

(b) *Congress.*

(1) Organization: House, April 1; Senate, April 6.

(2) Counting electoral vote: method.

(3) House: number, rules, committees, spirit.

(4) Senate: number, an "upper" house; secret sessions; committees.

(5) Legislation: oath of office; tariff bill; creation departments—State, treasury, war and navy, att'y gen.; question of removal of officers—various theories; department of justice, courts, att'y-gen., jurisdiction; payment members—House, Senate, general salaries.

(c) *The President.*

(1) Inauguration: address, replies; English precedents; receptions, levees, calls, dinners, titles.

(2) The Cabinet: State (Jefferson), Treasury (Hamilton), War and Navy (Knox), Atty-Gen. (E. Randolph); theory of appointments; question of seats in Congress.

(d) *The Judiciary.*

(1) Act, Sept. 24: Courts—Supreme—six judges; inferior, Circuit, District—number; salaries: jurisdiction, lack of importance of early courts.

(e) *Personnel:* From what State; what chief work, leading characteristics: J. Jay, E. Randolph, H. Knox, J. Wilson, R. King, J. A. Muhlenberg.

Questions: (1) How many votes did each presidential elector, 1789, cast for president? explain, (2) How were presidential electors chosen in this first election? (3) After what body did the Senate attempt to copy, 1789? (4) Out of what clause in the Constitution did the cabinet originate? (5) Name the theories in regard to removal of appointive officers—which triumphed? (6) Who sat as circuit judges in these early days? (7) Why was Washington so ceremonious? (8) Give some representative salaries; (9) Who was the administration leader in the House, 1789-91? (10) Have there been essential changes in the governmental organizations established by this first Congress?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XI, 1-26; McMaster, I, 525-545, 562-567; Schouler, I, 79-96, 103-108, 116-140; Johnston, Pol. Hist., I, 106-114; Lodge, Washington, II, 48-77; Walker, Making of the Nation, 62-72; W. Wilson, Hist. Am. People, III, 98-114; Moore, Am. Congress, 105-142; Hildreth, IV, 37-64, 102-109, 124-127, 134; Curtis, Const. Hist., II, 107-166; 177-202, Morse, J. Adams, 241-254; Morse, Jefferson, 87-106; Morse, Hamilton, I, 276-286; Hunt, Madison, 161-178; Gay, Madison, 122-143; Wilson, G. Washington, 265-282; Stanwood, Hist. of Presidency, 1-31; McClure, Our Presidents, 1-6; Thorpe, Const. Hist., II, 154-180; McMaster, With the Fathers, 150-181; Randall, Jefferson, I, 504f; Poole, Index; Landon Const. Hist. 97-100.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 286-289; Maclay, 1-206; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 255-276; Benton, Abridgments, I; Annals of Congress, I; Statutes at Large; Works, Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, J. Adams, etc.

3-4: HAMILTON'S FINANCIAL PLANS, 1790-1792.

(3) *The Public Debt.*

(a) *Conditions and problems.*

(1) Description in report on "Public Credit": a nation without credit, with great debt, accumulating interest.

(2) Remedies: assumption state debts; funding all debts; establishment of national bank, securing adequate revenue, development of industries.

(3) Purposes: financial—restoration of country's credit; political—development of nation's

constitutional powers, attachment of wealthy and powerful classes to administration.

(b) *The debt.*

- (1) Foreign: amount, fund at par, terms, public sentiment.
- (2) Domestic: par value, market value; fund—on what terms; debate, theories, decision.
- (3) State debts: amount; assumption—arguments for, against; bitter discussion; decision—relation to location of capital.

(c) *Revenue.*

- (1) Amount: basis of estimation.
- (2) Sources: tariff—rates, articles, purposes; excises—rates, articles, public sentiment; land—terms sale, amount revenue, policy.

(d) *Personnel:* Giles, Maclay, R. Morris, A. Baldwin.

Questions: (1) What question arose in regard to how Hamilton's report on "public credit" should be presented to Congress? (2) In what forms did the domestic debt exist in 1789? (3) What is meant by funding? (4) Did funding lessen the debt? (5) If not what advantage gained? (6) What was the difference between the par and the market value of the domestic debt? (7) What is meant by assumption of state debts? (8) Did assumption tend in any way to nationalize the country? (9) How was assumption finally carried?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XI, 27-38; Schouler, I, 144-156; McMaster, I, 566-592; Hildreth, IV, 65-101, 152-174, 206-218; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist. I, 106-114; Walker, Making the Nation, 78-82; Von Holst, I, 80-104; Moore, Am. Congress, 136-142; Young, Am. Statesman, 75-86; Gordy, I, 118-130; Morse, Hamilton, I, 287-332; Lodge, Hamilton, 83-101; Oliver, Hamilton, 206-225; Sumner, Hamilton, 144-162; Lodge, Washington, II, 106-112; W. Wilson, Washington, 282-288; Gay, Madison, 144-152; Hunt, Madison, 179-190, 197-200; Randall, Jefferson, I, 603-611; Landon, Const. Hist., 103-108; Dewey, Financial Hist., 76-96; Bolles, Financial Hist. II, 3-126; Gibbs, Administrations of Washington and Adams, I, 28-560.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 289-290; Ames State, Documents, 4-7; MacDonald, Select Documents, 46-66, 98-112; Hamilton, Republic of U. S., IV, 37-60, 67-77, 85-109; Hamilton, Works, (Lodge ed.) II, 227-291, 337-368; Dunbar, Currency; Elliott, Funding System, 23-50, 91-95; Benton, Abridgment, I, 182-184, 190-201, 211-228; Annals of Congress, II, 2041-2082.

Special: (b) Am. Hist. Ass. Reports (1898), 289-298.

(4) *Financial and Industrial Problems.*

(a) *A National Bank, 1791.*

- (1) Banking conditions: number State banks; public opinion.

- (2) The charter: provisions—term, capital, government, powers—issues, branches, rate interest, etc.
- (3) Arguments: for—a public convenience, expand circulating medium, enlarge national means of borrowing, etc.; against—expediency—rates interest, etc.; constitutionality—leaders, Jefferson, Madison, Randolph; arguments—Jefferson vs. Hamilton.
- (4) Results: development—parties, different interpretation of the Constitution—broad vs. strict; granted, implied, resulting powers.
- (b) *Industry.*
 - (1) Report on Manufactures, 1792: conditions, outlook, future.
 - (2) Protection: arguments; extent, permanency.
- (c) *Personnel:* O. Walcott, T. Coxe, R. Goodhue, J. Jackson, E. Boudinot, John Lawrence, Wm. Smith.

Questions: (1) What banks existed in U. S. in 1790? (2) Why so few? (3) What arguments against the expediency of establishing banks were made? (4) What were the leading constitutional arguments against a national bank? (5) Summarize Hamilton's constitutional arguments for a national bank. (6) What do you understand by strict construction? (7) Did Madison recognize any implied powers? (8) How many and what kind of powers did Hamilton find in the Constitution? (9) What the difference between an "implied" and a "resulting" power? (10) Did Hamilton's measures tend to centralize power?

General Reference, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XI, 38-41; Schouler, I, 174-180; McMaster, II, 28-42; Hildreth, IV, 256-267; Gordy, I, 130-145; Walker, Making the Nation, 82-87; Moore, Am. Congress, 144-146; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 114-122; Young, Am. Statesman, 86-92; Lodge, Hamilton, 101-114; Oliver, Hamilton, 225-248; Morse, Hamilton, I, 333-347, 357-369; Sumner, Hamilton, 162-170; Randall, Jefferson, I, 628-630; Landon, Const. Hist., 112-115; Dewey, Financial Hist., 98-101; Sumner, Hist. of Banking, 22-57; Bolles, Financial Hist., I, 127-155; Gibbs, I, 60-69.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 290-294; MacDonald, Select Documents, 67-112; Clark and Hall, Hist. of Banking, 8-114; Hamilton, Works (Lodge ed.) V, 284f; National Edition, index; Benton, Abridgment, I, 272; Finance Reports, 54-77; Am. State Papers, Finance, I, 67-76; Annals of Congress, II, 2082-2112.

Special: (a) Hamilton, Works (National ed.) III, 388-443, 445-493; McCulloch vs. Md. Boyd Cases, Thayer Cases, I, 271f; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 276-281. (b) Hamilton, Works, IV, 70-192; MacDonald, Select Documents, 98-112; Taussig, State Papers on Tariff.

(5) *Formation of Political Parties, 1789-1801.*(a) *Historical Basis.*

(1) In Whigs and Tories of Revolution; in Federalists and Anti-Federalists of 1787-1789.

(b) *The Federalists, 1791-1801.*

(1) Party of initiation: in power.

(2) Domestic policies: forms and ceremonies in government; funding, assumption, a national bank; interpretation of the constitution; paternalism; political capacity of masses; force in government; dependence in government on class support; army, navy.

(3) Foreign attitude: toward French Revolution, English and French war.

(4) Composition: classes, sectional strength, "interests."

(c) *Republicans, 1792-1801.*

(1) Party of criticism: out of power.

(2) Principles: in regard to the theory of government—rule of few or the many, the nature and interpretation of the constitution, foreign relations and policies, the practical problems—taxation, army extent power, bank, &c.

(3) Composition: dominant "interests," sectional strength, tendencies.

(d) *Personnel:* Geo. Clinton, Thos. Mifflin, R. Griswold, U. Tracy, Theo. Bland.

Questions: (1) Why did anti-Federalists disappear? (2) Were the Federalists of 1788 the same as the Federalists of 1793-95? (3) Chief factors that led to reorganization of parties, 1791-93. (4) What was the first essential question under the constitution that began to cause party formation? (5) What do you understand by paternalism in government? (6) Which party was a "strict" construction party? (7) Why did the republican party come into being? (8) What Federal party theories are rejected to-day by all parties? (9) What principles of the Republicans are accepted by all? (10) Leading factors in making the two parties so largely sectional. (11) What classes and interests largely in the Federal party? (12) Which party on the whole has your sympathy—Why?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XI, 42-55; Gordy, I, 92-200; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 203-233; Woodburn, Pol. Parties, 13-30; Schouler, I, 180-237; McMaster, With the Fathers, 71-86; McMaster, II, 49-53, 89-105, 108-112; Hopkins, Pol. Parties, 1-49; Hildreth, IV, 249-250, 287-300; 321-272; Randall, Life of Jefferson, I, 633-645; II, 68-93; Morse, J. Adams, 249-260; Schouler, Jefferson, 159-176; Morse, Jefferson, 114-129; Morse, Hamilton, I, 370-425; Lodge, Hamilton, 115-150; Oliver, Hamilton,

200-440; Hunt, Madison, 201-222; Gay, Madison, 164-206; Wilson, Washington, 294-303; Lodge, Washington, 220-274; Alexander, A Pol. Hist. of N. Y., I, 37-63; Bryce, Am. Commonwealth, I, 636-643; Von Holst, I, 80-137; Winsor, VII, 267; Stanwood, Hist. of Presidency, 1-41; Fiske, Essays, I, 101-218; Sparks, Men Who Made the Nation; Tucker, Jefferson, I, 427-457; Gibbs, I, 77-79; Young, Am. Statesman, 95-108.

Source: Hart Contemporaries, III, 282-301, Jefferson, Works, (Ford ed.), V, 76-77, 83, 136, 275, 282, VI, 90, 95, 116, 195, 250, 251, 101-109; Monroe, Works, I, 39-40, 44-45, 84-86. Lodge Cabot, 57-59, 74; Washington, Works, (Sparks ed.), X, 525-26.

6-7: DOMINANCE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS: 1793-1795.

(6) *Former Allies.*

(a) *Spain, 1789-1795.*

(1) Spanish jealousy: effect of revolutions; principles.

(2) Issues: navigation of Miss. river—in treaty of 1783, in international law; boundaries—west, south; Spanish demands, 1782-1783; disputed areas, 1783-1795; negotiations, 1790-1795.

(3) Treaty of 1795: Pinckney—Godoy; reasons for the treaty—European conditions; terms—in regard to navigation of Miss. river, Florida boundary, “place of deposit,” effects.

(b) *France, 1792-1795.*

(1) Treaties 1778 and 1788: friendship, commerce, consular; mutual duties under treaties in regard to—territorial possessions, privateers of enemies—French interpretation, prizes, “free ships, free goods,” contraband of war—provisions, consular courts.

(2) The French Revolution: Constitutional monarchy, 1789-1792; Republic, 1792—American rejoicing; “Reign of Terror,” 1793-1794; and Wars, 1792-1801; division of Am. people over—reasons; sectional tendency—reasons; “Democratic societies.”

(3) Problems: French treaties—interpretation; neutrality—proclamation, April, 1793; Genet—his Course, privateers, invasion Spanish territory, consular courts, appeal to American people; danger of war, 1793, recall; Monroe to France, 1794-1796; his course, criticism, recall; better relations, 1794-1796.

(c) *Personnel:* Godoy, Genet, C. C. Pinckney, Th. Pinckney.

Questions: (1) Why was Spain always antagonistic to U. S.? (2) On what grounds did U. S. claim right to navigate the Miss. river? (3) What was meant by New Orleans as a "place of deposit"? (4) What social influence of French Revolution in U. S.? (5) What political influence due to "Reign of Terror"? (6) Why neutrality policy so important to U. S.? (7) Should Monroe be condemned for course in France? (8) Why New Eng. so intensely Anti-French?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XI, 69-100; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 131-147; Schouler, I, 250-274; McMaster, II, 89-125, 136-140; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, 414-459; Hildreth, IV, 411-442, 645-680; Gordy, I, 159-200; W. Wilson, III, 129-136; Von Holst, I, 112-122; Gibbs, I, 89-106; Tucker, Jefferson, I, 461-523; Randall, Jefferson, II, 120-185; Morse, Jefferson, 130-147; Morse, Hamilton, II, 67-147; Lodge, Hamilton, 151-184; W. Wilson, Washington, 289-293, 296-301; Lodge, Washington, II, 130-165; Irving, Washington, V, 76-80, 96-104, 156-197; Winsor, Narrative and Critical Hist. VII, ch. 7; Cambridge, Modern History, VII, 317-321; Andrews, II, 243-255; Foster, Century of Am. Diplomacy, 136-158; Trescott, Diplomacy, 129-176, 225-267; Lyman, Diplomacy, I, 22-69, 209-282; Moore, Am. Diplomacy, 33-49; Chadwick, Relations of the U. S. and Spain, 17-41; Young, Am. Statesman, 108-121; Marshall, Washington, II, 253-288; McElroy, Ky. in the Nation's History, 167-184.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 294-295; McDonald, Select Docs., 112-114; Documentary Source Book, 243-244; Snow, Am. Diplomacy, 26-38, 106-109; Wharton, Digest, II, 118-128, 272-277; Moore, Digest, V, 336, 588-591, 849-855; Richardson, Messages, I, 156-158; Treaties, 296, 307, 310, 316; Washington, Works (Sparks) X, 533-535; Jefferson, Works (Ford) VI, 217, 219-231.

Specific: (a) Am. Hist. Review, IV, 62-79. (b) Hart, Contemporaries, III, 303-312; Am. Hist. R., III, 650-671; Am. Hist. Ass. Reports (1895) 455-466.

(7) **Great Britain, 1789-1796.**

(a) *Treaty, 1783.*

(1) Non-fulfillment of its terms: negroes, "posts," debts of American merchants, Tory property; negotiations. 1783-1794—failure; no minister from England.

(b) *International law questions in dispute.*

(1) "Free ships, free goods"—meaning, contraband of war—provisions, impressment sailors—right of individual expatriation; "rule of 1756"—enforcement, seizure of Am. vessels in West Indies; whole of neutral rights and duties.

(2) Result: American preparation for war; creation of a navy; increase of army, embargo

—1794; threat of sequestration and non-intercourse.

(c) *Jay Treaty, 1794-1796.*

(1) Negotiations: renewal; English modification of orders; Jay—qualifications, spirit.

(2) Treaty: terms—"posts," negroes, sequestration, "free ships," provisions, West Indian trade, claims—arbitration; excitement, unpopularity, criticisms; ratification—attitude Washington, Federalists, Republicans; vote in Senate; improved relations, 1795-1805.

(d) *Personnel:* John Jay; Fisher Ames; J. Rutledge, E. Livingston.

Question: (1) Under what circumstances was the "Rule of 1756" proclaimed? (2) How did it affect the U. S. in 1794? (3) Which nation more at fault for non-fulfillment of treaty of 1783? (4) What greatest advantage in Jay Treaty? (5) What great principle recognized in the treaty? (6) What article rejected and why? (7) Why was the treaty so unpopular? (8) Was the U. S. right in its stand on international law questions? (9) Was its diplomacy commendable?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XI, 117-135; Schouler, I, 282-286, 304-332; McMaster, II, 165-188, 212-235, 245-259, 263-284, 285-289; Hildreth, IV, 482-497, 539-564, 584-615; Gordy, I, 215-264; Lodge, Washington, II, 174-189, 206-219; Gay, Madison, 207-218; Hunt, Madison, 223-234; Lodge, Hamilton, 173-187; Morse, Hamilton, 172-219; Randall, Jefferson, II, 265-279; Tucker, Jefferson, I, 538-545, 558-577; Adams, Gallatin, 158-166 Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist. I, 144-160; Pellew, Jay, 294-317; Jay, Life of J. Jay, I, 306-354; Andrews II, 231-241; Irving, Washington, V, 239-260; Lyman, Diplomacy, I, 154-208; Trescott, Diplomacy, 63-128; Foster, A Century of Diplomacy, 158-176; Gibbs, I, 218; Young, Am. Statesman, 121-141; Moore, Am. Diplomacy, 49-57.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 295-299; MacDonald, Select Docs. 114-130, Documentary Source Book, 244-258; Treaties and Conventions, 379; Hart, Contemp., III, 312-319; American Oration, I, 84-111, 112-143; American Oratory, 94; Monroe, Works, II, 154, 347; King, Works. 523-525; Jefferson, Works, (Ford), VI, 467-469, 503-505; Ames, Works, 58-93; Harding, Select Oration, 123-149; Snow, Am. Diplomacy, 69-73; Jay, Correspondence (Johnston) IV, 3-49, 132-152, 154-162.

Special: (b) Western Ports and British Debts: Am. Hist. Ass. Reports, (1894), 413-444; Jay's Treaty and Slavery, Am. Hist. Ass. Reports (1901), 273-298.

(8) *Internal Problems and Development, 1789-1796.*

(a) *Growth.*

(1) Amendments: question of necessity—Madison's position; nature of amendments; their

formation; location in or at end of constitution; adoption—number of states necessary; importance—analysis of provisions; effect.

- (2) New States: names, previous status; questions at issue; method of transformation into statehood.
- (b) *Testing efficiency of new government.*
 - (1) Indian Wars, 1790-1795: causes—pressure to west; campaigns, generals, results—on army, in cession of Indian lands.
 - (2) Whiskey Insurrection; in Pa. 1794; causes—character of settlers, frontier conditions, industrial problems—excise tax on whiskey, market for grain; unpopularity of excise—reasons; organized resistance; call for militia—response; march to Pittsburg; collapse of insurrection; treason trials—pardons; outcome—enforcement law; constitution upheld.
 - (3) The Chisholm Case: issue—right of individual to sue a sovereign State; question before Supreme Court—decision; popular opposition, result—the eleventh Amendment, 1794-1798; terms, effects, significance.
 - (4) Jay Treaty: a party question; Hamilton and Ames vs. Madison and Gallatin; right of House in treaties—to possession of “papers,” to exercise of discretion in appropriations and legislation to carry them into operation; when a treaty the “law of the land”; result—importance as a precedent.
- (c) *Personnel:* H. Lee, H. H. Brackenridge, Wm. Cushing, R. G. Harper, A. St. Clair, A. Wayne.

Questions: (1) Did the first ten amendments add anything essential to the constitution? (2) To whom do the first ten amendments apply—the United States, the States, or both? (3) Was the 11th amendment favorable to localism or nationality? (4) What had been Vermont's history before statehood? (5) What the location of the Indian tribes involved in Indian wars of 1790-1795? (6) What the essential lesson of the Whiskey Rebellion? (7) What reasons for the bitter hostility of the Western settlers to the excise tax? (8) Has the House any discretion in regard to making appropriations to carry a treaty into effect? (9) When is a treaty “the law of the land?”

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XI. 22-26, 114, 101-116, 134-135; Schouler, I, 113-115, 288-289, 208-213, 290-297; McMaster, I, 597-604, II, 44-47, 67-72, 189-203, 263-281; Hildreth,

IV, 112-124, 247-248, 283-285, 498-520, 685-702, Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist. 124-130, 228-230; Gordy, I, 201-214, 255-264; Stevens, Gallatin, 67-96, 109-115, 120-123; Morse, Adams, 257-268; Randall, Jefferson, 311-331; Morse, Jefferson, 151-159; Morse, Hamilton, II, 212-219, 220-228; Thorpe, Const. Hist. II, 199-263, 264-294; Landon, Const. Hist. 117; Story, Commentaries, II, Sec. 1857; Gibbs, Washington and Adams Ad. 143-163; Thorpe, Short Const. Hist., Tucker, Jefferson, I, 594-607, Morris, Half Hours, II, 180-189; Irving, Washington, V, 83-87, 105-117, 220-238; McElroy, Ky. 114-146; Austin Expansion, 100-116.

Source: Richardson Messages, I, 87-97; Benton, Abridgment, I, 47-48, 133-137, 138-144, 547-555, 639-754; Elliott, Debates, I, 338.

Special: (a) Am. Hist. Ass. Reports (1892) II, 361-372; Ames, Amendments to the constitution. (b) Ames, State Doc. on Fed. Relations, 7-15; Thayer, Cases, 295f, Boyd, Cases.

(9) *Politics, 1792-1798.*

(a) *Party development.*

(1) Machinery: Congressional Caucus—reasons for, tendencies; conventions in States—N. Y., Pa., etc.

(2) Sectionalization: reasons, effects.

(3) Elections: 1792—candidates, votes, result; methods of election of presidential electors; Congress—party strength; 1796—candidates—Republicans, Federalists; choice of electors; Hamilton's attitude toward Adams—reasons; result—a split ticket, Adams (71) and Jefferson (68); significance; Congress party strength.

(b) *Washington's Farewell Address.*

(1) First suggestion, 1792; Washington's outline—Madison's draft.

(2) Final formulation, 1796: Composition—Madison, Hamilton, Jay, Washington; purpose; spirit, importance.

(3) Its terms: union, parties, sectionalism, order, etc.

(c) *Personnel:* Joseph Hopkinson, J. Dayton.

Questions: (1) In what State did the modern convention originate? (2) What was the first machinery for the nomination of candidates for president? (3) Why did any machinery come into existence? (4) What did the "fathers" expect the presidential electors to be and to do? (5) What factors can you find that produced sectional parties during the years under study? (6) For how many candidates for president did each "elector" vote? (7) What can you say of the authorship of Washington's Farewell Address? (8) Is it statesmanlike? (9) What lessons did Washington seemingly intend to inculcate?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XI, 137-149; Schouler, I, 347-352, 354-360, 368-378; McMaster, II, 306-307, 310-366; Hildreth, IV, 686-704; V, 25-45; Stanwood, History of the Presidency, 1-41; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist. I, 203-230; Gordy, I, 92-102; Winsor, Narrative and Critical Hist. VII, 267-272; Bryce, Am. Commonwealth, I, 636-643; Morse, Adams, 257-273; Adams, Gallatin, 178-181; Randall, Jefferson, II, 311-331; Morse, Jefferson, 154-161; Morse, Hamilton, 220-236; Lodge, Hamilton, 191-200; Lodge, Washington, 247-258; Walker, 130-138; Gibbs, I, 405-410, 451-466; Andrews, II, 214-219; McClure, Our Presidents and How We Make Them, 1-5; Hamilton, Republic of the U. S., VII, 497-534; Elson, Hist. U. S. 341f; Hammond, Political Parties in New York, I, 1-91; Fess, Pol. Theory and Party Organization, 1-10.

Source: Writings, Adams (Adams ed.) X, index under Parties; Jay (Jay ed.) III and IV, Table contents; R. King (King ed.), I and II, Table contents; Jefferson (Ford ed.) VI and VII, Table contents; Gallatin (Adams ed.) II and III, Table contents; Madison (Congress ed.) I and II, (Hamilton ed.) VI, Table contents; Hamilton (Federal ed.) index; Benton, Abridgments, II, 114-144.

Special: (b) Jay, IV, 344-345; Washington (Sparks ed.) VII, 382-398; Hamilton, Republic of U. S., VII, 497-503; Old South Leaflets, I, No. 4; Richardson, Messages, I, 213f; Washington Works (Sparks) VII, 214-235; Annals Congress, VI, 2869f; Marshall, Washington, II, 396-409; Irving, Washington, V, 383-410; Redpath, Hist. U. S. App. 685.

(10) *Foreign Relations, the Key of Adams Administration, 1797-1801.*

(a) *Initial conditions.*

- (1) Adams' characteristics: self-centered, self-confident, jealous; qualifications—experience, education, student government; equipoise between England and France.
- (2) Cabinet: inheritance from Washington; moderate ability, narrow, under control of Hamilton.
- (3) Complex foreign relations: an inheritance.
- (4) Leadership party: Adams—legal and nominal; Hamilton actual; Jealousy; diverse ideals and tendencies.

(b) *French Relations.*

- (1) Jay Treaty: an element of discord; French claims—in contravention of French treaty rights; rejection of American minister—Pinckney, 1796-1797; excitement in America; the first commission—Pinckney, Marshall, Gerry, 1797; instructions—terms, tenor.

- (2) The X. Y. Z. Affair, 1797-1798: "Suggestions" by X—a bribe to directory, a loan, an apology, attitude of the commission; repetition of suggestions by Y; Talleyrand—"nothing doing"; renewal of demands by Z; withdrawal by Pinckney and Marshall; negotiations by Gerry—his mistake, reasons, final break; communications with home government; suspension of diplomacy; excitement in America, 1798; rising tide of Federalism; imminence of war.

(c) *Personnel*: Talleyrand, E. Gerry, T. Pickering, J. McHenry.

Questions: (1) How had Adams' previous training fitted him for the chief issue of his administration? (2) What was his chief weakness as a leader, as president? (3) What mistakes made in his choice of his cabinet? (4) What complaints made by the French against Jay's treaty—were there any just grounds? (5) What policy did Pickering wish followed in the French affair—why? (6) Did Talleyrand wish war with the United States? (7) What led him to believe the American commissioners would yield to the French demand? (8) Should Gerry be censured for his course? (9) How did Talleyrand meet Gerry's accusations? (10) Form of government in France at this time.

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XI, 136-149, 204-237; Schouler, I, 354-400; McMaster, II, 308-322, 367-381; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 162-179; Gordy, I, 290-312; Hildreth, V, 46-50, 57-63, 82-96, 125-159; Adams, Gallatin, 185-200; Morse, J. Adams, 270-285; Randall, Jefferson, II, 346-356, 380-388; Morse, Hamilton, II, 237-250; Magruder, Marshall, 100-128; Garland, J. Randolph, 102-123; Andrews, II, 248-255; Moore, Am. Congress, 158-159; Gibbs, II, 15-40; Tiescott, Diplomacy, 177-234; Lyman, Diplomacy, I, 314-366; Foster, Century of Diplomacy, 176-184; Moore, Am. Diplomacy, 57-62.

Source: Gibbs, Administrations of Washington and Adams, I, 500-526; Benton, Abridgment, II, 225-242; Annals of Congress, IX, 3418f, 3433f, 3519f; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 322-326; Richardson, Messages, I, 264-265; Works, Adams (Adams ed.), VIII, 546-681; IX, 10-307; Works, Jefferson (Ford ed.), VII, 218-221, 230, 234-242.

Special: (a) Chamberlain, Essays, John Adams, etc., 1-61. (b) Moore, Digest of International Law, V, 601-609.

(II) *Results in United States of X. Y. Z. Affair.*

(a) *Parties.*

- (1) Republican: failure of its policy; abandonment of Spriggs resolutions; semi-disintegration, 1798.
(2) Federal: popularity of the party and of Adams; intense excitement; resulting er-

rors in political policies; attacks on liberty press, rights States, democracy; policy—excessive centralization, paternalism.

(b) *The "War," 1798-1800.*

(1) Preparations: naval—creation of separate department, construction and commission of fleet; army—increase in, organization of; its officers—Commander-in-Chief, Washington, major-generals—Knox, Pinckney, Hamilton; question of rank; Washington's request—Hamilton first; dissatisfaction of Adams, quarrels with cabinet; the Miranda scheme, its relation to Hamilton's plans; Adams for peace.

(2) Progress of hostilities; naval contests, capture prizes.

(3) End: Talleyrand's diplomacy; renewal of negotiations; second commission, 1799—Ellsworth, Murray, Davie; renewal of cabinet quarrel over sending commissioners; reorganization of cabinet; conclusion of treaty, 1800, its modification and ratification, 1801.

(c) *Legislation, 1798.*

(1) From fear of France: abrogation of treaties by Congress, legality of act.

(2) From fear of foreigners: Naturalization Act, June 18—terms, reasons for, effect; Alien Act, June 21—terms, purposes, effects; Alien enemies act, July 6—terms, intent, effects.

(3) From fear of the press: Sedition Act, July 14—terms—proposed, adopted; purposes; constitutionality, enforcement, effects.

(4) Bank fraud act, June 27—terms, national punishment of crimes.

(5) Relation of these acts to: nature of Union, powers of States, liberty of individual.

Questions: (1) What were terms of the Spriggs resolutions? (2) How did the arrival of the X. Y. Z. correspondence affect parties? (3) What was the so-called officers' intrigue? (4) Was Washington misled by the Hamilton faction? (5) How did the forced appointment of Hamilton as ranking major-general affect Adams and the war policy? (6) Was Adams or his cabinet right in regard to sending the second commission? (7) Were the acts against foreigners wise and justifiable? (8) Effect of Sedition law on Federal party? (9) How explain the course of the Federalists at this time? (10) Significance of Hamilton's letter to Dayton.

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XI, 237-251, 252-264; McMaster, II, 376-409, 417-448, 465-476; Schouler, I, 398-434, 437-447, 451-456; Gordy, I, 313-331; Hildreth V, 203-235, 240-245, 264-270, 284-291, 297-301; Johnston, I, 172-179, 181-188; Adams, Gallatin, 203-228; Brown, Ellsworth, 282-326; Morse, J. Adams, 285-320; Stevens, Gallatin, 149-163; Schouler, Jefferson, 191-194; Randall, Jefferson, II, 429-446, 499-503; Morse, Jefferson, 169-177; Morse, Hamilton, II, 249-285; Lodge, Hamilton, 202-223; Moore, Am. Congress, 158-162; Young, Am. Statesman, 165-172; Maclay, Hist. of the Navy, 155f; Spears, Hist. of U. S. Navy, 39-52; Trescott, Diplomacy, ch. 3; Lyman, Diplomacy, 336-351; Foster, Century of Diplomacy, 176-180; Hamilton, Republic of U. S. VII, 176-205, 211f; Allen, Our Naval War with France; Elson, Side Lights, I, 65-79.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 299-305; MacDonald, Select Documents, 135-148; Documentary Source Book, 258-267; Benton, Abridgment, II, 243-252, 253-260, 265-269, 280-286, 295-296, 305-316, 373-385; Hamilton, Works, (Lodge ed.), VI, 294, 325, 330, 336-338, 342-344; VIII, 506f; King, Works (King ed.), III, 555f; Adams, Works (Adams ed.), VIII, 569-572, 573-575, 576-580, 587-590, 593-594, 600-604; Washington, Works (Lodge ed.), XI, 242-245; 257-260, 261-268, 280-285, 530-550; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 327-328.

Special: (c) McDonald, Select Documents, 135-148.

(12) *The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, 1798-1799:*
The Republican answer to the Program of the Federalists.

(a) *Occasion.*

(1) Federal policy and measures: Alien acts, naturalization act, sedition act; centralizing tendency of Federal measures; fear of loss of liberty.

(2) Formulation of Republican theories: a party platform.

(b) *Development.*

(1) Authorship: Virginia Resolutions, 1798, and Virginia Report, 1800 (Madison); Kentucky Resolutions, 1798 (Jefferson).

(2) Terms: nature of the Union; unconstitutionality of alien, sedition, bank acts; remedy—appeal to states.

(3) Reception: by states; by people.

(c) *Results.*

(1) Immediate: on party development.

(2) Remote: nullification; secession; civil war.

(d) *Personnel:* W. C. Nicholas; J. Breckenridge.

Questions: (1) Were the changes in the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 made with Jefferson's consent? (2) What principle of the resolutions was generally contested in the State replies? (3) What one commonly accepted? (4) Did Jefferson in

the Kentucky resolutions intend to hold that the State action was a *protest only*, or that it made the act void? (5) What remedy for unconstitutional action stated in the Virginia resolutions? (6) Did these resolutions recognize the unity or divisibility of sovereignty? (7) Was the authorship known at the time? (8) Were the resolutions on the whole in sympathy or out of harmony with the prevailing public opinion of that day? (9) Did the Republicans reaffirm these resolutions while in power?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XI, 265-275; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 188-202; Gordy, I, 332-342; Schouler, I, 432-435; McMaster, II, 419-423; Foster, Commentaries on the Court, I, 119-125; Von Holst, I, 138-167; Hildreth, V, 319-321; Moore, Am. Congress, 162-168; W. Wilson, III, 153-161; Schouler, Jefferson, 192-195; Randall, Jefferson, II, 443-455; Hunt, Madison, 249-258; Gay, Madison, 231-241; Tucker, Jefferson, II, 59-65; Thorpe, Const. Hist., II, 343-354; Landon, Lectures on Const. 124-130; Powell, Nullification and Secession; Warfield, The Kentucky Resolutions of 1798; Anderson, Am. Hist. Review, V, 45f, 225f; McElroy, Kentucky, 211-276.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 302-303; MacDonald, Select Documents, 148-160; Documentary Source Book, 267-277; Madison, Writings (Congress ed.) 515-555; Jefferson, Works (1856 ed.) IX, 464-471; (Ford ed.) VII, 282, 288-309, 312, 416; Am. Hist. Leaflets, No. 15; Stephens, War Between the States, I, Appendix; Elliott, Debates, IV, 440-441, 532-539, 540-545, 546-580.

Special: (b) Jefferson, Writings (Ford ed.), 289-309, 416; Ames. State Documents, 15-26; MacDonald, Select Documents, 148-160.

(12) *Change parties; Downfall Federalists, 1800-1801.*

(a) *Causes.*

- (1) Character of party; aristocratic tendencies; suspiciousness.
- (2) Legislative measures: alien acts, sedition act, Logan act, direct tax act—Fries Rebellion.
- (3) Internal distrust and quarrels: over Foreign policy; over army officers; over personal leadership—Hamilton's letter on Adams; Charges of "British faction," "Monarchical faction," etc.
- (4) Lack of skillful leadership—jealousies.
- (5) Petty issues: Robbins case; Williams case; "tub-plot," conspiracies.

(b) *The Campaign of 1800-1801.*

- (1) Unfavorable opening: Chase's circuit—sedition trials; Hamilton's policy—for electors in New York, for equal votes for Adams and Pinckney.
- (2) Nomination: congressional caucuses; nominees.

- (3) Procedure: choice of electors; equal votes for Jefferson and Burr, 73 each; Adams 65, Pinckney 64.
- (4) Election in House: rules procedure; action of Federalists; Hamilton's course—reasons; election Jefferson.
- (3) *The Federalists*.
 - (1) Drive the last nail: the reorganization of federal courts; judges Supreme Court; creation 16 circuit judges; increase number of district judges; appointment of Federalists to new judgeship.
 - (2) Work—commendable, unworthy; permanent, temporary.
- (d) *Significance of party change*: Revolutionary or not?
- (e) *Personnel*: S. Chase; T. Pickering; A. Burr; J. A. Bayard.

Questions: (1) Was the overthrow of the Federal party for the best interests of the country? (2) Proposal of the Federal leaders in case of no election of President. (3) Proposal of Jefferson in such an emergency. (4) Reasons for the "Fries rebellion." (5) How did it happen that Jefferson and Burr had equal votes. (6) Were Hamilton's plans during campaign of 1800 commendable? (7) Were Jefferson's measures commendable in contest between himself and Burr? (8) Were the new courts and judges needed in 1801? (9) How explain Federal policy in regard to National courts? (10) Was the electoral vote a real measure of the strength of parties in 1800?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S, XI, 276-296; Merriam, Am. Political Theories, 96-175; McMaster, II, 417-538; Schouler, I, 438-443, 458-464, 472-514; Gordy, 343-382; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist. I, 223-233; Stanwood, Hist. of Presidency, 54-73; W. Wilson, III, 158-167; Walker, Making of the Nation, 155-167; Woodburn, Pol. Parties, 20-30; Gibbs, II, 442-515; Hopkins, Pol. Parties, 17-21; Alexander, A Political History of N. Y., I, 83-106; Magruder, Marshall, 148-158; Lodge, Hamilton, 222-233; Morse, Hamilton, II, 286-312; Morse, Jefferson, 170-185; Tucker, Jefferson, II, 64-84; Randall, Jefferson, 541-605, Adams, Gallatin, 232-266; Young, Am. Statesman, 188-195; Winsor, VII, 469-512; Parton, Burr, I, 243f; Schouler, Jefferson, 190-197; Hamilton, Republic of U. S. VII, 434-468; McClure, Our Presidents and How We Make Them, 12-20; Fess. Political Theory, 120-127.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 303-306; Benton, Abridgment, II, 530-534; Annals, X, 1005f, 1022f; Hamilton, Works, (Lodge) VII, 309-365; Adams, Works, IX, 239-310; King, Works, III, 330-332, 362-364, 390-93; Jefferson, Works (Ford), VII, 389-392, 401-403, 432-434, 462-475, 485-495; Jay, Correspondence, IV, 270-272.

Specific: (b) Benton, Abridgment, II, 530-534; (d) Am. Hist. Ass. Reports, 531-540.

CHAPTER III.

REPUBLICANISM TRIUMPHANT, 1801-1812.

GENERAL REFERENCES FOR THE PERIOD, 1801-1812.

Secondary: Am. Nat. Series, XII; Schouler, II, 1-375; McMaster, II, 583-635; III, 1-560; Hildreth, V, 419-686; VI, 1-377; Gordy, I, 383-598; II, 1-227; W. Wilson, III, 175-229; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist. I, 253-323; Young, Am. Statesman, 196-262; Roosevelt, Winning of the West, IV, 214-356; Stanwood, History of the Presidency, 54-105; Elson, Hist. U. S. 376-415; Merwin, Jefferson, 113-148; Schouler, Jefferson, 198-223; Curtis, Jefferson, 140-253; Randall, Jefferson, III, 1-367; Adams, Gallatin, 267-492; Gay, Madison, 242-308; Schurz, Clay, I, 27-66; Foster, Century of Diplomacy, 181-250; Dewey, Financial Hist. 118-141; Coman, Industrial Hist. 155-171; McClure, Our Presidents, etc., 15-35; Sparks, Expansion, H. Adams, History of the U. S., Vols. I-V.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 307-327; Caldwell, Some American Legislators; MacDonald, Select Documents, 160-192; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 344-409; Jefferson Works (Ford) VIII, IX; Madison, Works (Hunt), VII, VIII; Monroe, Works (Hamilton), IV, V; Richardson, Messages, I, 321-586; Benton, Abridgments, II, 540-744, III, IV.

C. REPUBLICANISM TRIUMPHANT, 1801-1812.

(1) *The New Leadership.*

(a) *Jefferson, 1743-1826.*

- (1) Early life: parentage, personal appearance, environment, education, law.
- (2) Public career; House of Burgesses, governor of Va., member of Congress—continental, confederation, minister to France, Secretary of State, Vice-president, President.
- (3) Characteristics: complex character, wide interests, emotional, pure, refined, feminine, honest, artistic; universal in interests—omniscient in aim; an athlete, scientist, scholar, historian, farmer, letter writer, investigator; inquisitive.
- (4) His political principles: belief in people; an individualist; simple, inexpensive, popular government; liberty—an idealist, visionary, innovator—eyes on the future; little government—local in character; strict construction of constitution.

- (5) Deficiencies; no orator, no financier; weak in administration, in military affairs; intuitive rather than logical.
- (6) Strength: good judge men; a lover of his kind; government for good of all.
- (7) His work: education—public schools, State University; religious liberty—state and church; law—reforms, codification; property rights—feudal privileges; slavery.
- (b) *Madison, 1751-1836.*
 - (1) Early life: parentage, education, personal appearance.
 - (2) Public life: Va. legislature, Congress, Constitutional Convention, Congress again, Secretary of State, President.
 - (3) Characteristics: personal, public; his interests; principles.
 - (4) His works: in Va., in Convention; in Congress.
- (c) *Gallatin, 1761-1849.*
 - (1) Early life: Education, coming to America.
 - (2) Public work: in Penn.—legislature, whiskey Insurrection; Senate, House; Secty. of Treasury; diplomat.
 - (3) Characteristics: physical, mental, political; his principles—changes; his interests—finance, scholarship.
- (d) *John Marshall, 1755-1835.*
 - (1) Early years: family; education, appearance, law.
 - (2) Public life: Va. legislature, Congress, diplomatic, secretary of state, chief justice, historian.
 - (3) Characteristics: personal, moral, intellectual; his interests; his political principles.
 - (4) His work: in Va.—ratifying constitution; in Congress; in France; as chief-justice; relation to Jefferson—antagonism; his decisions—importance.

Questions: (1) What had been Jefferson's training for the law? (2) What his importance as a leader of the revolutionary movement and reform in Virginia? (3) What rank had Jefferson as a diplomat? (4) What his most famous work in Congress? (5) How did his interests compare with those of other men of his age? (6) What had been Madison's greatest contribution to American history up to this time? (7) How did he and Jefferson supplement each other? (8) What was Gallatin's place in this trio of Republican statesmen? (9) Compare the personal qualities of Jefferson and Marshall. (10) Was the work of both these men needed to the full development of American life and institutions?

General References: (a) "Jefferson;" Lives—Schouler, Morse, Merwin, Randall, Tucker, Parton, Watson, Smucker, Curtis, Randolph, Pierson; Trent, Southern Statesmen of the Old Regime, 49-86; Fiske, Essays, I, 145-181; Sparks, Men Who Made the Nation, 218f; Schouler, II, 224-229, index; H. Adams, I, 131-155, 185-217, index; Fess, Political Theory and Party Organization, 51-63; Poole, Index for Magazine Lit.; Goodrich, Am. Biography, 380-405.

Source: Works and Writings; Editions by Randolph, 4 Vols.; by Ford, 10 Vols.; by Lipscomb, the Centennial Edition, 20 Vols., with Notes; Am. Patriotism, 150-177.

(b) "Madison;" Lives—Hunt, Gay, J. Q. Adams; Lodge, Historical and Political Essays, 47-74; Fiske, Essays, I, 185-218; H. Adams, I, 188f; III, 74f; IV, 2-6, index; Poole, Index.

Source: Works and Writings; Editions by Congress, 4 Vols.; Hunt, 10 Vols.

(c) "Gallatin;" Lives—Adams, Stevens; Adams, History of United States, I, 115f, 190, IX, 8f, index; Schouler, McMaster, etc., Histories.

Source: Writings; Edition by H. Adams, 3 Vols.

(d) "Marshall;" Lives—Magruder, Thayer; Carson, The Supreme Court, 195-287; No. Am. R. Vol. 26, 1f, Vol. 42: 217f; Am. Law R., I, 432f; New Eng. Mag. Vol. 9, 151f; General Histories, indexes; Van Santvoort, Lives of Chief Justices, 295-456; H. Adams, I, 192f, index.

Source: Decisions Supreme Court.

(2) *Development of Republican Theories, 1801-1803.*

(a) *Cabinet.*

(1) Membership: Madison (State), Gallatin (Treasury), Lincoln (Atty. Gen.), Dearborn (War), Smith (Navy).

(2) Character: ability, reasons for choice, harmony, consultation.

(b) *Principles and Plans.*

(1) Government: frugal, simple; forms, ceremonies, receptions; delivery of messages.

(2) Civil Service: numbers, decrease—in civil service, in diplomacy and consular work; question of removals—the spoils system.

(3) Inaugural: analysis; terms, spirit, composition, principles.

(c) *Measures.*

(1) Financial: debt—amount, speedy payment, reduction expenses, civil service, army, navy; taxation—internal, total repeal; tariff—chief source of revenue; Gallatin's problems; Gallatin's reforms—specific appropriations, simplicity.

- (2) Military: army—reduction, place of militia; navy—management, gun-boats.
- (3) Reversal Federal measures: repeal of judiciary act—reasons, unnecessary, partisan, extravagant, nationalistic in tendency; question of constitutionality of repeal—arguments, Republicans, Federalists; repeal of naturalization act—new law.
- (d) *Personnel*: S. Smith, L. Lincoln, C. Pinckney, J. Armstrong.

Questions: (1) What reasons led Jefferson to send written message to Congress? (2) Did he introduce the spoils system? (3) For what principles did he stand in his inaugural address? (4) What the estimated national revenue, and Gallatin's proposed distribution of it among the departments? (5) Why the repeal of the internal tax—was it wise? (6) How did Jefferson wish to handle the navy? (7) Was the repeal of the judiciary act wise? (8) Were these first measures of the Republicans in harmony with their principles when out of power? (9) Was repeal of judiciary act based on broad or strict construction?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XII, 1-35; McMaster, II, 532-537, 583-620; Schouler, II, 1-40; Hildreth, V, 419-444; Adams, History of U. S., I, 218-333; Gordy, I, 383-420; Moore, Am. Congress, 182-191; Walker, Making of the Nation, 168-177; Roosevelt, G. Morris, 287-292; Hunt, Madison, 271-284; Gay, Madison, 242-247; Morse, Jefferson, 186-204; Tucker, Jefferson, 85-124; Randall, Jefferson, II, 630-694; Schouler, Jefferson, 198-214; Curtis, The True T. Jefferson, 149-174; Adams, Gallatin, 267-314; Brown, Ellsworth, 323-326; Stevens, Gallatin, 170-193; Bolles, I, 203-209; Dewey, Financial Hist., 119-126; Alexander, Political Hist. of N. Y., I, 115-128.

Source: Caldwell and Perringer, 307-310; Harding, Select Orations, 164-171; Elliott, Funding System, 451-478; Richardson, Messages, I, 321-324; Am. Orations, I, 155; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 344-355; Benton, Abridgments, 541-544, 546-550, 555-559, 636-638.

(3-5) EXPANSION, 1803-1819.

(3) *The Acquisition of Louisiana, 1803.*

(a) *Evolution of the Territory.*

- (1) Name: origin, original boundaries; settlements.
- (2) Transfer to Spain, 1762-1763; division; boundaries.

(b) *Reacquisition by France, 1800.*

- (1) Conditions in Europe: Wars of French Revolution; French colonial and commercial aspirations; rise of Napoleon and Talleyrand—characteristics; plans of Napoleon in In-

- dia and East—failure in Egypt; in Spanish peninsula—thwarted by Godoy.
- (2) Napoleon's American plans: treaty of San Ildefonso—terms, conditions, work of Godoy.
 - (3) Taking possession of Louisiana: San Domingo—Toussaint Louverture, the negroes and yellow fever, failure; Napoleon's new policy—abandonment of territorial expansion, sale of Louisiana.
 - (c) *Purchase by the United States, 1803.*
 - (1) Conditions in America: closure of New Orleans as "place of deposit" by Morales; effect on West—its demand; policy of Federalists; appointment of Monroe.
 - (2) Jefferson: instructions to Livingston; threats—of alliance with England; necessity of control of Miss. river.
 - (3) Negotiations: by Livingston; Napoleon's position—statement to Marbois and Talleyrand; final offer—the whole of Louisiana—his right to sell; hesitancy of Livingston; Monroe; final action.
 - (4) The Treaty: terms—price, area, rights of inhabitants, Livingston's troubles.
 - (d) *Personnel:* J. Monroe, R. R. Livingston, Marbois, Napoleon.

Questions: (1) Why did the U. S. object to French more than to Spanish control of mouth of Miss. river? (2) What European factors aided in acquisition of La.? (3) How did the negroes of San Domingo become important aids in securing La.? (4) What was the immediate occasion that led the people of the West to demand the acquisition? (5) What proposal made by the Federalists to secure New Orleans—was it wise? (6) What measure adopted by Jefferson to meet the Federal plan? (7) Did Jefferson seriously intend an alliance with England? (8) What reasons probably led Jefferson to sell La.? (9) What reasons did he give? (10) Why did Livingston get no greater honor from this treaty? (11) Give names of men most important in connection with the Annexation?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XII, 47-62; H. Adams, I, 352-446; Ogg., Opening of the Miss., 460-538; Gayarré, Hist. of Louisiana, 447-547; Hosmer, Miss. Valley, 118-127; Hosmer, The Louisiana Purchase, 1-147; McMaster, II, 620-635; Schouler, II, 40-58; Gordy, I, 421-426; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 253-264; Tucker, Jefferson, II, 124-126; Morse, Jefferson, 251-258; Gilman, Monroe, 77-94; Gay, Madison, 242-252; Hunt, Madison, 285-295; Adams, Gallatin, 318-321; Randall, Jefferson, III, 47-68; Herman, The La. Purchase; Hildreth, V, 468-482; Bruce, Romance of Expansion, 24-50; Morris, Half Hours, etc., II, 189-

200; Fuller, Purchase of Florida, 76-121; Austin, Steps in Expansion, 117-126; Young, Am. Statesman, 203-212; Sparks, Expansion of the Am. People, 188-210; Johnson, A Century of Expansion, 76-98; Gannet, Boundaries of the U. S., 21-23; Phelps, Louisiana, 178-219; Thompson, Louisiana, 138-161; Roosevelt, Winning of the West, IV, 258-284; Foster, A Century of Diplomacy, 187-202; Lyman, Diplomacy, I, 367-405; Moore, Am. Diplomacy, 223-231; Am. Hist. Soc. Reports, I, 253-290; McElroy, Ky., 265-276.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 310-316; Caldwell, Territorial Expansion, 76-100; MacDonald, Select Documents, 160-165; Hosmer, The Louisiana Purchase, App.; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 363-384; Richardson, Messages, I, 350-351, 357-362; Jefferson, Works (Ford), VIII, 172, 188, 190-192, 203-210, 241-249, 261-264, 286-292; Annals, Vol. 12, Appendix; Monroe, Writings (Hamilton), IV, 2-35, 40; Moore, Digest, I, 433-439, 445, V, 613; Snow, Diplomacy, 46-49.

(4) *The Louisiana Purchase in Politics, 1803-1804.*

(a) *Ratification of the Treaty.*

(1) Sectional feeling: sections—for, against; reasons.

(2) Constitutionality: Jefferson's doubts; proposed amendments—character, fate; position of Republican party leaders—arguments, consistency with former principles, reasons for change; attitude of Federalists—consistency, arguments; final result.

(3) Acceptance by Senate: vote—party, sectional; in the House—question of appropriations, position of parties, compare with Jay treaty.

(4) Boundaries: Napoleon's action; indefiniteness of description; disputed boundaries—Florida, position Monroe, Livingston, Jefferson; Mexican—Rio Grande; Canadian—settlement 1818.

(b) *Effects.*

(1) Constitutional: party changes; acceptance of broad construction by Republicans.

(2) Political: democracy, nationality, immigration, slavery, outlook on future.

(3) Industrial: area, wealth; New England jealousy; the new West.

(4) Government: plans—1804-1805; power of Congress over territory.

(c) *Personnel:* C. C. Claiborne, J. Randolph, Wm. Eustis.

Questions: (1) What chief theory held by Federalists in regard to right to acquire territory? (2) Was it in harmony with their previous doctrines in regard to the nature of the Union? (3) How do you account for the change in positions of parties?

(4) On what clauses of the Constitution did the Republicans assert the right to purchase? (5) Did they now give a broad or strict interpretation to the Constitution? (6) What industrial effects foreshadowed in the purchase? (7) How was the territory transferred to the U. S.? (8) How does this purchase compare in importance with any previous event in our history?

References, General: Ogg., Opening of the Miss., 539-574; Am. Nat. S., XII, 62-99; Gayarré, Hist. of Louisiana, 547-575; McMaster, III, 1-30; Schouler, II, 55-60; Johnston, I, 264-269; Randall, Jefferson, III, 70-87; Gordy, I, 426-458; Hildreth, V, 490-493; Johnson, A Century of Expansion, 99-127; H. Adams, II, 25-115; Am. Hist. Ass. Reports (1897), 149-160; (1894), 507-552.

Source: Benton, Abridgment, III, 8-20, 41-43, 61-77; Annals Congress, 1803-1804, 35-73, 386-419, 431-489, 498-575; Works, Jefferson (Ford), VIII, 241, 247, 253, 278, 338-339.

(5) *Florida and the North West, 1803-1818.*

(a) *Florida.*

(1) West Florida: claim of U. S.; statements of Talleyrand; position of Spain; Jefferson's diplomacy—the two million bill, John Randolph; dependence on Napoleon—his double policy; Jefferson's failure; resolution in 1810—Action Congress, possession by Madison, 1812-1815.

(2) East Florida: attempt to purchase—reasons, refusal by Spain; trouble during war of 1812; Amelia Island; invasion by England, by U. S.

(b) *Oregon.*

(1) The Country: discovery and exploration, by Spanish; by Captain Gray, 1792, by Lewis and Clark, 1804-1805; by British; boundaries.

(2) Claimants: Spain—basis, abandonment, 1819; Russia—reasons, elimination, 1824-1825; Gt. Britain and U. S.—basis claims; Joint occupancy, 1818.

(c) *Explorations.*

(1) Lewis and Clark, 1803-1805: Jefferson's early plans, 1792—postponement; resumption, 1802; choice of leaders; purposes—scientific, political; preparation—character; instructions; expeditions—incidents, route, importance; report.

(2) Pike: trip to west; incidents, discoveries, results.

(d) *Personnel:* M. Lewis; Captain Gray; Z. Pike.

Questions: (1) Basis of claim of United States to west Florida; (2) Was Jefferson wise to depend on Napoleon to aid

in securing West Florida? (3) Why was Jefferson so anxious to secure Florida? (4) Who had the best claim to Oregon? (5) What is meant by joint occupancy? (6) Was the Lewis and Clark expedition for scientific or national purposes? (7) How does this exploration rank with others? (8) Who among our early statesmen seemed to appreciate the future of the west best?

General References, Secondary: (a) "Florida:" Am. Nat. S. XII, 54-56, 140-154; Burgess, Middle Period, 19-32; Fuller, Purchase of Florida, 122-330; Gordy, I, 460-478; H. Adams, II, 51-73; III, 103-146, index; McMaster, III, 32-41, 369-375, 537-541; IV, 154-155, 430-456, 474-483; Schouler, II, 111-113, 345-347; III, 57f, 95-96, 130-133, 175-176; Austin, Steps in Territorial Development, 138-140; Bruce, Romance of Expansion, 51-77; Johnson, A Century of Expansion, 128-141; Elson, Side Lights, I, 96-115; Bicknell, Expansion, 31-49.

Source: Contemporaries, III, 481-487; Caldwell and Persinger, 342-344; Caldwell, Territorial Expansion, 104-127; MacDonald, Select Documents, 213-219.

(b) "Oregon:" Am. Nat. S. XII, 86-99; Schouler, II, 147-148; Burrows, Oregon, 5-76; H. H. Bancroft, Oregon, Vol. 30; Schafer, History of the Pacific Northwest, 1-123; Meany, History of the State of Washington, 45-90.

(c) "Lewis and Clark:" Elson, Side Lights, 96-115; Roosevelt, Winning of the West, 308-343; Am. Hist. Ass. Reports, (1903), I, 105-130, 149-174; H. Adams, III, 12, 215; Laut, Pathfinders of the West, 307-333.

Source: Lewis and Clarke, Travels to Source of Missouri River, 3 Vols.; Wheeler, The Trail of Lewis and Clarke, 2 Vols.; Original Journal of Lewis and Clarke, 8 Vols. (1904); Lewis and Clarke, Journals, 3 Vols. (1841); Long, First Expedition, 1819-1820, 2 Vols.; Hart, Contemporaries, 381-384; Annals of Congress, 1807-1808; App. 1035-1146; Jefferson, Works, (Ford) VIII, 194-200; Annals of Congress, 1806, 1035-1146.

(6) *Internal Evolution, 1802-1807.*

(a) *Political.*

- (1) Twelfth amendment: occasion; terms; position parties; criticisms and predictions by Federalists; adoption; workings.
- (2) Election 1804: candidates; method of nomination; Federalist scheme in Mass.—result; electoral vote; overwhelming Republican victory—reasons.
- (3) Republican policies in harmony with past: simplicity in forms; economy in government; reduction debt; dependence on militia—reduction regular army.
- (4) Gradual abandonment of strict construction; internal improvements; harbors, etc.; aid in construction roads—the Cumberland; in

method of attack on judiciary; impeachment and removal Judge Pickering; impeachment Judge Chase; purchase of Louisiana.

- (5) Factionalism: in States—New York, struggle for leadership; in Pennsylvania, Gallatin vs. Duane and rising Democracy; in Congress—John Randolph, Giles, etc. vs. Jefferson, strict construction.

(b) *Conspiracies.*

- (1) The Northern Confederacy: New England dissatisfaction—reasons; Burr's hatred of Jefferson; the Burr, Pickering, "Essex Junto" coalition; Burr for governor of New York; Hamilton's attitude; failure coalition; Hamilton-Burr duel; result.

- (2) The Burr Intrigue: loss of prestige; Jefferson's refusal to aid; trips to West; intrigues with Wilkinson, Blennerhassett, etc.; with Spanish and English ministers; with Eaton, etc.; his plans; expedition down the Mississippi; action of Jefferson; arrest Burr, Bollman, Swartwout; treason trials; a party contest; Jefferson and Marshall; the trial of Burr; acquittal—reasons.

- (c) *Supremacy Republicanism*: Gradual transformation as a party in power.

- (d) *Personnel*: Geo. Cabot, R. H. Dana, Wm. Duane.

Questions: (1) Was a twelfth amendment necessary? (2) What weaknesses in the twelfth amendment? (3) How explain the overwhelming Republican victory of 1804? (4) Was the Republican method of attack on the judiciary the proper one? (5) Was Jefferson's suggestion for an amendment to secure a limited tenure for Federal judges well taken? (6) How do you explain the gradual change in constitutional theory of the Republican party? (7) How can you account for such a combination as that of Burr and Pickering? (8) What are the chief theories in regard to the plans of Burr in the West? (9) What decision made by Marshall in regard to proof of treason? (10) May the President be compelled to appear and testify before a court?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XII, 111-168; H. Adams, II, 135-191, 218-244; III, 1-21, 219-343, 441-471; McMaster, III, 42-54, 162-198, 54-88; Schouler, II, 67-74, 86-89, 100-104, 133-139, 353-356; Gordy, I, 439-460, 479-494; Stanwood, Hist. of the Presidency, W. Wilson, III, 195-204; McCaleb, The Aaron Burr Conspiracy, 1-369; Morse, Hamilton, II, 345-372; Adams, Gallatin, 326-333; Schouler, Jefferson, 210-223; Tucker, Jefferson, II, 170-197, 222-241; Morse, Jefferson, 230-241; Roosevelt, G. Morris, 302-317; Magruder, Marshall, 199-227; Garland, J. Randolph, 196-205, 252-261; Alexander, Political Hist. of N. Y., I, 131-144; Hil-

dreth, V, 540-544, 553-556, 594-627; Moore, Am. Cong., 196-200; Lodge, Studies, 202-223; Todd, The True Aaron Burr; Jenkinson, Burr, 98-319; Stanwood, Hist. of Presidency, 54-73; Randall, Jefferson, III, 180-222; Parton, Burr, I, 243f, II, 13-161; McElroy, Kentucky, 277-314; Trent, Southern Statesmen, 122-137.

Source: American State Papers, Miscellaneous, I, 468-645; Annals of Congress, 1807-1808, App. 385-778; Supreme Court Reports, 1808; Lodge, Cabot, 337-348.

Special: (b) Am. Hist. Ass. Report, (1903), 131-144.

(7-9) STRUGGLE FOR NEUTRAL RIGHTS; CAUSES OF WAR OF 1812.

(7) *Aggressions on Neutral Rights by France and Great Britain.*

(a) *International Law Questions at Issue.*

(1) Blockade—actual or paper; contraband of war—articles, provisions; “rules of 1756”—enforcement by England, interpretation; “free-ships, free-goods”—meaning; right of search; impressment-expatriation; doctrine of “continuous voyage.”

(2) Cases: The “Polly” and the “Mercury,” 1800-1801—decision by Sir William Scott; The “Essex,” 1805—his decision—“intent.”

(b) *European Conditions.*

(1) Renewal of war, 1803: Battle of Trafalgar, 1805—English supremacy on sea; battles Austerlitz and Jena, 1805-1806; Napoleon’s supremacy on land.

(2) Napoleon’s “Continental System:” purpose, means, effects.

(3) Orders and Decrees: English orders in Council, May 16, 1806—blockade Brest to Elba; Napoleon’s “Berlin Decree,” Nov. 21, 1806; mutual coast blockades; English general blockade orders, Nov. 11, 1807; Napoleon’s reply “Milan Decree,” Dec. 17, 1807; Objects—destruction neutrality, control or destruction of Am. commerce.

(c) *American Conditions.*

(1) Between upper and lower millstone: France vs. England.

(2) Public opinion: New England Federalists against war, division in middle States, West for war; the Monroe treaty—rejection by Jefferson, effects on Monroe, on country; the Leopard-Chesapeake affair—intense excitement, war fever.

(3) Jefferson’s policy: delay, defensive—coast fortifications, gunboats; reasons—belief that action of nations as of individuals in long

run dependent on "reason" and "interest;" conditional non-intercourse; calling of Congress in special session.

(d) *Personnel*: Sir Wm. Scott, Lord Nelson.

Questions: (1) Meaning of "continuous voyage?" (2) What change in decision in cases of the "Mercury," and the "Essex?" (3) Meaning of Napoleon's "continental system." (4) What the purposes of England and France in their "Orders" and "Decrees?" (5) Reasons for Federal opposition to war with England. (6) Should war have been declared immediately after the Leopard-Chesapeake affair? (7) What did Jefferson mean when he said that reason and interest governed nations the same as individuals? (8) Was he correct? (9) Did he analyze the European conditions correctly? (10) Was the method of delay justifiable?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XII, 169-208; McMaster, III, 219-278; Schouler, II, 108-110, 132, 151-176; Gordy, I, 495-540; Morse, Jefferson, 255-266; Garland, J. Randolph, 229-241; Hildreth, V, 646-662, 674-685, VI, 31-35; Adams, III, 80-102, 370-440, IV, 1-151; Walker, Making of the Nation, 190-200; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 288-296; Fyffe, History of Modern Europe, 178-246; Coman and Kendall, England, 423-427; Lyman, Diplomacy, I, 406-422; Tucker, Jefferson, II, 223-234, 241-252, 258-262, 271-292; Randall, Jefferson, III; Adams, Gallatin, 355-366; Young, Am. Statesman, 216-220, 221-228; Foster, Diplomacy, 211-232; Gardiner, Students Hist. Eng., 849-862; Knight, Hist. Eng., VII, 196-216; Morris, Half Hours, II, 212-218.

Source: Richardson, Messages, I, 395, 402-404, 422-427; Benton, III, 619-621, 625-640; Am. State Papers, Foreign Relations, III, 284-292, 263f; Annals Cong., Vol. 22, 1194-96, 1211-1219, 1224; Jefferson, Works (Ford), VIII, 416-417, 447-450; IX, 39-41, 86-106, 109-110, 169-170; Lodge, Cabot, 380-393, 404-409.

(8) *Jefferson's Remedy: Embargo, Dec. 1807—March 1809.*

(a) *The Embargo Act.*

(1) Theory: after failure of "reason" through diplomacy, an appeal to "interest" of Europe by shutting off its supply of food and raw material.

(2) Enactment: message Nov. 1807; bill in Congress; debate—arguments, expediency, constitutionality; terms.

(3) Evasions: methods—on sea, on Canadian frontier; enforcement—supplementary acts, 1808; legislative resolutions against; action counts and juries in cases; Giles "force act," 1809; terms—severity—constitutionality; debate—arguments, threats; rise of an English party.

(b) *Effects.*

(1) On shipping: destruction; markets for grain, tobacco, cotton, etc.

- (2) On trade: reduction from \$110,000,000 (1807) to \$22,000,000 (1808); on revenue.
- (3) On sections: New England—rise of ideas of Northern Confederation again; an English party; manufacturing, new interests; on South—suffering.
- (4) On parties: revival Federalists; division Republicans; election 1808—candidates, result.
- (5) On Europe: suffering; agitation for repeal—resultless.
- (c) *Repeal, March 1, 1809.*
 - (1) Republicans in panic; testimony of J. Q. Adams; embargo as a remedy abandoned.
- (d) *Personnel:* Eli Whitney, R. Fulton, H. G. Otis, N. Macon.

Question: (1) What is an embargo—by whom laid? (2) What the purpose of the embargo of 1807? (3) Under what clause of the constitution was the right to lay an embargo claimed? (4) Did a strict construction of the constitution warrant it? (5) How was the embargo avoided? (6) What were the terms of the so-called Force Act? (7) Compare the Sedition Act and Force Act—which the more dangerous? (8) Which section of the country suffered most as a result of embargo? (9) Did it affect English industry? (10) Was repeal at the time it was made necessary, wise?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XII, 209-232; Gordy, I, 541-575; McMaster, III, 279-313, 323-335; Schouler, II, 176-186, 194-204, 207-221; Hildreth, VI, 36-43, 69-79, 84-89, 90-93, 96-106, 108-129; Adams, Gallatin, 367-377; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 296-300; Von Holst, I, 200-219; Walker, Making of the Nation, 200-203; Garland, J. Randolph, 262-276; J. O. Adams, 37-56; Tucker, Jefferson, II, 292-318; Randall Jefferson, III; Young, Am. Statesman, 228-232; Morse, Jefferson, 266-283; H. Adams, IV, 152-177, 225-289, 339-360; 432-474; Morris, Half Hours, II, 218-221.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 319-323; Ames. State Doc. on Federal Relations, 26-44; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 385-409; Jefferson, Works, IX, 169-170, 179-191, 235-238; Annals, Vol. 21, App. 2127f, Vol. 22, 1194-1196, 1211-1219, 1224, Am. Patriotism, 196-207; Benton, III, 676-707; IV, 5-25.

- (9) *Drifting into War, 1809-1812.*
 - (a) *The new Administration.*
 - (1) Madison: characteristics—physical, mental, political; executive powers.
 - (2) His cabinet: inharmonious, weak; members—State (R. Smith), dismissal, 1811 (Monroe); treasury (Gallatin); War (Eustis); Navy (Hamilton); Atty. Gen. (Rodney); merit each, changes.

- (3) Declination of Administrative power; rise power Congress.
- (b) *Renewed attempts to avoid war.*
 - (1) Non-intercourse: With England and France, March 1, 1809—terms, results.
 - (2) Erskine treaty: provisions—Orders, Chesapeake, impressment; rejoicing in America—the Federalists; rejection by English ministry—reasons; results—withdrawal and renewal of non-intercourse.
 - (3) France: Rambouillet decree—sequestration American property.
 - (4) End of non-intercourse, 1810; trade prosperous; no redress grievances.
 - (5) New measures: Gallatin's navigation act, defeat in Senate; Macon Bill, No. II—object, terms, dangers.
- (c) *The Final Movement.*
 - (1) Negotiations: Jackson—insulting methods; dismissal, treatment of Federalists; Pinckney unsuccessful, withdrawal; Foster—reparation for Chesapeake outrage—President—Little Belt.
 - (2) Open questions:—order, impressment, English aid to Indians, Tippecanoe.
 - (3) Napoleon's duplicity: in regard to acceptance of Macon Bill No. II; England's stubbornness; revival of non-intercourse against England, Feb. 2, 1811.
 - (4) Young men to the front; 70 new members in congress; war party in power; end of negotiations.

Questions: (1) What error did Madison make in his cabinet? (2) How does Madison compare as an administrator with preceding presidents? (3) What tactical error made by Federalists in connection with the Erskine treaty? (4) Why was the treaty rejected? (5) Why was Gallatin's Navigation Act rejected? (6) Why did the Americans care so little in 1811 in regard to the Chesapeake outrage? (7) Was Napoleon honest in regard to his repeal of the "Decrees"? (8) What error made by England in regard to the Macon Bill? (9) Why did the war party triumph in 1812? (10) Was this long period of "commercial war" worth its cost?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XII, 233-269, XIII, 1-63; Gordy, I, 576-598; II, 1-207; McMaster, III, 335-369, 391-411, 419-20; Schouler, II, 313-316, 320-322, 334-345, 360-388; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 300-308; Walker, Making of the Nation, 217-229; Adams, V, 66-153, 338-403, VI, 1-267; Calender, Economic Hist. U. S., 239-260; Gay, Madison, 272-295; Hunt, Madison, 301-315; Adams, Gallatin, 385-400, 413-428, 444-

455; Hildreth, VI, 165-176, 183-194, 196-202, 214-222, 232-236, 242-249, 262-281; Olive Branch, 42-52; Randall, Jefferson, III, 314-320; Knight, VII, 262-287, 360-383; Emerson, Hist. of 19th Century, 240-464.

Source: Annals of Congress, 1810-1811, 863-957, 990-1086, 1150-1250, 1812, 1712-1979; Benton, Abridgment, IV, 432-464, 506-518, 551-554; Olive Branch, 108-136, 249-270; Madison, Works, (Congressional, ed.), II, 459-460, 465-480, 484-488, 508-511, 518-519, 523-530, 536.

CHAPTER IV.

NATIONALIZATION OF REPUBLICANS, 1812-1829.

GENERAL REFERENCES FOR THE PERIOD, 1812-1829.

Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XIII, XIV; Schouler, II, 375-end; III, 1-531; McMaster, IV; V, 1-536; H. Adams, VI, IX; Elson, Hist. U. S., 415-477; Young, Am. Statesman, 263-476; Stanwood, Hist. of Presidency, 106-141; McClure, Our Presidents, etc., 32-59; Burgess, Middle Period, 1-165; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist. I, 288-421; W. Wilson, Hist. of Am. People, III, 210-293; Sparks, Expansion, 104-290; Gordy, II, 208-561; Fess, Pol. Theory, 99-112; Scribner's Hist. of U. S. 185-297; Von Holst, I, 340-459; Andrews, Hist. of U. S., III, 19-63; Cambridge, Mod. Hist., III, 335-378; Orth, Five Am. Politicians, 123-295; Du Bois, Suppression of Slave Trade, 94f; Bruce, Romance of Am. Expansion, 51-78; Hildreth, VI, 313-713; Stanwood, Tariff Controversies, I, 128-289; Taussig, Hist. of Tariff, 8f; Bolles, Financial Hist., 219-375; Callender, Economic Hist. of U. S., 239-268; Bogart, Economic Hist. of U. S., 142-251; Wright, Industrial Hist., 117f; H. Wilson, Rise and Fall of Slave Power, 112-164; Coman, Industrial History, 171-211; Dewey, Financial History, 143-183; Foster, Century of Diplomacy, 250-273; Lyman, Diplomacy of U. S., 278-406; Woodburn, Pol. Parties, 31-50; Parton, Jackson, II; III, 1-164; Sumner, Jackson, 26-119; Morse, J. Q. Adams, 70-225; Lodge, Webster, 125-166; Rogers, The True Henry Clay, 90-145; Schurz, Clay, I, 67-351; Hunt, Calhoun, 43-121; Larned, History for Ready Reference.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 327-353; Caldwell, Some Am. Legislators, 1-123; Caldwell, Survey of Am. Hist., 99-147; Caldwell, Am. Territorial Development, 103-129; MacDonald, Documentary Source Book, 288-320; MacDonald, Select Documents, 183-238; Hart, Contemp., III, 410-526; Richardson, Messages, II, 2-434; Ames, State Documents on Federal Relations, 56-127; Sargent, Public Men and Events, I, 1-80; Statesman's Manual, I, 479-766; Niles' Register, Vols. II-XXXVII; J. Q. Adams Memoirs, II-VII; Benton, Thirty Years' View, I, 1-119; Benton, Abridgments of Debates; Annals of Congress; Congressional Debates, I-V; Works of Clay, Calhoun, Webster, etc.

D. NATIONALIZATION OF THE REPUBLICANS, 1812-1829.

(1) *The Young Republicans, 1812.*

(a) *Clay, 1777-1852.*

- (1) Early years: parentage, environment, education, training in counting house, clerk court, law student; removal to Ky.

- (2) Characteristics: as lawyer, orator, citizen, politician, statesman.
- (3) Public career: in Ky. legislature—policies, slavery, etc.; as U. S. senator—policies on bank, tariff, internal improvements, embargo; preparation for leadership, 1812; later years as speaker of House, diplomat, secretary of state, senator.
- (b) *Calhoun, 1783-1850.*
 - (1) Early life: family, birthplace, environment, education—at Yale, law at Litchfield—effects.
 - (2) Qualities: orator, debater, lawyer, leader; political training in State legislature, attitude on public questions.
 - (3) Public positions: in State legislature; in House—position on bank, tariff, internal improvements, interpretation of constitution to 1825; later attitude in Senate, secretary of state on slavery, on the constitution.
- (c) *New Spirit, 1812-1830.*
 - (1) Belief in people: retention of, accentuation; nationalistic tendency, aggressive Americanism.
 - (2) Policies: in regard to—extending functions of government, army, navy, internal improvements, war.
- (d) *Conditions.*
 - (1) Sectionalism: Federalists and commercial interests against war.
 - (2) Republicans: inharmonious, unstable in policies, uncertain of themselves.
- (e) *Personnel:* Lowndes, Cheves, Porter, Johnson, Harrison, Crawford, De Witt Clinton, Grundy.

Questions: (1) Describe the personal appearance of Clay. (2) What position did he take in early years in regard to slavery in Kentucky? (3) What position did he take on the recharter of the First National bank? (4) Was slavery an important interest in the section of South Carolina where Calhoun was born? (5) In what questions was Calhoun interested in when in the legislature of South Carolina? (6) How do you explain the strong national tendency of Calhoun's earlier years? (7) Did the young Republicans entirely dominate their party at beginning of war of 1812? (8) From what section of the country did the leaders of young Republicanism in general come?

References. (a) "Henry Clay:" Schurz, *Life of Clay*, 2 Vols.; Rogers, *The True Henry Clay*; H. W. Caldwell, *Life of Clay*; Prentice, *Henry Clay*; Sargent, *Life and Public Services of Henry Clay*; Parton, *Famous Americans*, 1-52; Orth, *Five Am. Politicians*, 173-294; Sparks, *Men Who Made the Nation*, 255-281; H.

Adams, Schouler, Am. Nation Series; McMaster, indexes; Hart, Practical Essays, 1-19; Am. Hist. Ass. Report, 1891, 257-265.

Sources: Caldwell, Some Am. Legislators, 52-75; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 417-420, 427-429, 499-501, 646-649; Colton, Works; Reed-Colton, Works; Mallory, Works; Colton, Last Seven Years.

(b) "J. C. Calhoun:" Von Holst, Calhoun; Jenkins, Life of Calhoun; Hunt, Calhoun; Trent in New International Encyclopedia; H. Adams, Schouler, McMaster, Am. Nat. Series, indexes. *Sources:* Caldwell, Some Am. Legislators, 100-122; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 436-440, 544-547; Crallé, Works, 6 Vols.; Am. Hist. Ass. Report, 1899, II; Letters, Am. Hist. Review, V, 467-490.

(c) & (d) General histories.

(2-4) THE WAR OF 1812.

(2) *Preparation; Public Opinion.*

(a) *Resources.*

(1) Of Gt. Britain: navy—control of seas, number ships, sailors; army—number in pay, commanders; European war—condition 1812; industrial status—use of manufactures, scarcity of raw material, loss of continental market; taxation and debt; Canada—loyalty.

(2) Of the United States: army—militia; navy—sentiment regarding it; industry—agricultural abundance, loss of market—embargo; rising manufactures; commerce—destruction with war; population.

(b) *Use of Resources.*

(1) By Gt. Britain: Canada—point of invasion; army; naval blockade.

(2) By United States: in taxation, in military organization, in definiteness of plan; derangement of money and banking; inability to borrow; embargo.

(c) *Declaration of War, June 18, 1812.*

(1) Madison's war message: debate—Clay, Randolph, Grundy, Calhoun; arguments for and against; position parties.

(2) Vote: House, for 79—New England 12, Middle 21, South 37, West 9; against 49—New England 20, Middle 18, South 11, West 0; Senate, for 19, against 13.

(d) *New England's Opposition.*

(1) Measures: militia, loans, criticisms.

(2) Hartford convention, 1814-1815: Call—by what State, terms; members—number—character, instructions; report on militia, taxes, amendments—number, character,

terms; constitutional theory; adjournment subject to call—significance; outcome; importance.

(e) *Personnel*: Wm. H. Harrison, J. Quincy, J. Barlow.

Questions: What three important advantages did the United States apparently have at the beginning of the war of 1812? (2) In what ways seriously at a disadvantage? (3) Compare England's plan of attack in 1812 with that of 1777? (4) What was the American plan of war—well planned or not? (5) Significance of the vote declaring war. (6) Was the Hartford Convention more or less dangerous to national development than the Kentucky Resolutions? (7) What amendments proposed by the Hartford Convention? (8) What proof can you give of the theory that the Jeffersonian policy broke down in the war of 1812? (9) How explain successes on sea? (10) Why the almost uniform disasters on land till 1814?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XIII, 50-83, 150-167; Gordy, II, 181-207, 208-299; McMaster, III, 412-458, 541-556; IV; Schouler, II, 372-394, 462-476; Hildreth, VI, 262-312, 313-335, 529-536, 545-554; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 308-317; Von Holst, I, 225-272; Walker, Making of the Nation, 221-229, 240-247; W. Wilson, III, 209-229; H. Adams, VI, 289-387, VII, 99-206, 262-339, VIII, 24-212, 311-382; Mahan, Sea Power in Relation to War of 1812, I, 141-282; Gay, Madison, 290-318; Hunt, Madison, 316-331, 340-352; Randall, Jefferson, III, 361-368, 371-388, 411-422; Adams, Gallatin, 455-466; Dewey, Financial Hist., 128-142; Young, Am. Statesman, 262-273; Lyman, Diplomacy, II, 1-58; Alexander, I, 199-240; Knight, Hist. of England, III, 360-383; Green, Hist. of the Eng. People, IV, 357-389; Lossing, Field Book of War of 1812, 167-186; Spears, Hist. of U. S. Navy, 53-73.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 327-331; Ames, State Documents on Fed. Relations, 10-21, 25-44; Garland, J. Randolph, II, 49-62; The Olive Branch, 236-270, 310-313; Hart, Contemp., III, 410-414; Harding, Select Orations, 172-190; Am. Orations, I, 164-179, 205-215; Dwight, Hist. of the Hartford Convention; Madison's War Message; Richardson, I, 499-505; Statesman's Manual, I, 293; Niles, Register, II, 267; MacDonald, 183-192; Works, (Hunt), VIII, 192-201; Lodge, Life of Christ, 410f, 527-563; Adams.

Specific: (d) New England, Federalism, 245-329; Dwight, Hartford Convention; The Olive Branch.

(3) *The Military Campaigns, 1812-1815.*

(a) *On the Canadian Frontier, 1812-1814.*

(1) 1812: American plan of invasion; four centers; Hull at Detroit—surrender; total failure of plans.

(2) 1813: Harrison—success in west; failure at Niagara, along the St. Lawrence, etc.

- (3) 1814: Brown, Scott, etc.; Lundy's Lane, Erie, etc.; on Lake Champlain—Plattsburg.
- (b) *The Naval War.*
 - (1) On the ocean: naval duels; victories of Americans, reasons, effects; privateering—attacks on English commerce, extent, importance; English blockade of American coast.
 - (2) On the lakes: Erie—Perry's victory, 1813, significance and effects; control of Ontario, 1814; victory on Lake Champlain, importance.
- (c) *The Eastern Coast.*
 - (1) 1812-1813: treatment of New England; final blockade.
 - (2) 1814: capture of Washington, reasons for, course of English, effects on administration and people; attack on Baltimore—the Star Spangled Banner; the Maine Coast.
- (d) *The South-West.*
 - (1) 1812-1814: Indian war—Jackson; treaty—lands; West Florida.
 - (2) 1814-1815: New Orleans—Jackson; importance of the victory, results.
- (e) *Personnel:* Perry, MacDonough, Decatur, Hull, Porter, Scott, Brown, Harrison.

Questions: (1) Was Hull justified in surrendering Detroit? (2) What is meant by privateering? (3) Was it profitable during the War of 1812? (4) Whose fault for the capture of Washington? (5) Did the British gain or lose by burning its public buildings? (6) What aim of British in invasion of Maine? (7) How did the same plan find confirmation in Louisiana? (8) What the most lasting effect of the attack on Baltimore? (9) Relation of Perry's Victory to the invasion of Ontario? (10) What important results flowed from Harrison's and Jackson's victories over the Indians, 1811 and 1813 respectively?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XIII, 84-149; McMaster, III, 556-560, IV, 1-190; Schouler, II, 397-404, 423-436, 446-458, 485-491; Hildreth, VI, 335-343, 354-371, 392-399, 402-437, 486-533, 557-565; H. Adams, VI, 289-387, VII, 72-339; VIII, 24-211, 311-382; Walker, Making of the Nation, 230-240; Schurz, Clay, I, 67-100; Parton, Jackson, I, 560-626, II, 11-232; Buell, Jackson, index; Wright, Gen. W. Scott, 23-41; Scott, Autobiography, I, 49-147; Brown, Jackson, 69-86; Ingersoll, War of 1812, 17-216; Lossing, Field Book of War of 1812, 251-1071; Thompson, War of 1812, 13-496; Maclay, Hist. of Navy, I, 322-577, II, 1-104; Spears, Hist. of the U. S. Navy, 80-154; Morris, Half Hours, II, 221-286; The Cambridge Modern History, VII, 335-348.

Source: Hart, Contemporaries, III, 414-417, 422-425; Ameri-

can State Papers—Military Affairs, Naval Affairs; Niles, Register, Vols. II-VII, index.

Special: (a) Lucas, The Canadian War of 1812, 1-260. (b) Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812; Mahan, Sea Power in Its Relation to the War of 1812, I, 283-422, II, 1-407; Maclay, History of Privateers, 225-507; Hollis, The Frigate Constitution; Lodge, A Fighting Frigate.

(4) *Treaty of Peace; Results of the War.*

(a) *Negotiations, 1813-1814.*

- (1) Russian meditation: acceptance by United States, objection by Gt. Britain.
- (2) Direct negotiations, 1814: Am. Commissioners, Gallatin, Adams; Clay, Bayard, Russell—character, capacity, jealousies: British, Gambier, Goulburn, Adams—weakness.
- (3) Instructions and demands: American—impressment, boundaries, territory, &c; British—Indians, territorial boundaries, fisheries, impressment; no point of agreement.
- (4) Change conditions: victory of Plattsburg; trouble at Congress of Vienna; modification of English demands; renewed negotiations on new terms.

(b) *The Treaty: Terms—Omissions, Provisions.*

(c) *Results.*

- (1) Economic: in cost in men, money, increased debt, deranged finances, prices, trade and commerce; in lessons in banking, transportation and money systems.
- (2) A new spirit: one facing the west—the frontier, not the east—the sea and Europe; an American people; rising power of liberalism in religion and literature; intensified democracy.
- (3) Political: death Federal party—reasons; transformation Republican; rise of military reputations—Jackson, Harrison, Scott, &c; above all, establishment of a conscious nationality.

(d) *Personnel:* W. H. Crawford, A. J. Dallas.

Questions: (1) Compare ability of American and British commissioners for treaty of peace. (2) What factions in the American commission? (3) Who was able to harmonize the commission in large part? (4) Compare the first British with the first American instructions to their commissioners. (5) Were the questions that caused the war included in the treaty? (6) What two important causes led the British to modify their demands in making the treaty of peace? (7) How do you explain the great changes in point of view of the American people during the war?

(8) Was the Federal party unpatriotic,—i. e. did it go beyond legitimate criticism of an opposition party? (9) What questions divided the American commissioners? (10) In what respect was Clay a successful diplomat?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XIII, 168-201; McMaster, IV, 256-279; Schouler, II, 477-491, 492-503; Schurz, Clay, I, 102-125; Morse, J. O. Adams, 76-98; Adams, Gallatin, 493-547; Stevens, Gallatin, 301-326; Gordy, II, 325-340; H. Adams, IX, 154-292; Foster, Century of Diplomacy, 243-254; Lyman, Diplomacy, II, 1-58; W. Wilson, III, 225-227; Walker, Making of the Nation, 247-249; Von Holst, I, 273-277; Butler, Effects War 1812; J. H. U. Studies, V, 247-276; Rogers, The True Clay, 76-89; Morris, Half Hours, II, 286-305; Coman, Industrial History, 171-211.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 333-334; Adams, Diary, II, 498-662, III, 3-144; MacDonald, Select Documents, 192; Clay, Works, (Mallory) I, 323-341; Reed-Colton, I, 147-162; Gallatin, Writings, (Adams) I, 626-646; Monroe, Writings, (Hamilton) 1807-1816, 277-281, 370-372, 375-377; Annals of Congress, 1814-1815; App. 1281-1416, 1416-1479.

Special: Am. Hist. Review, Vol. XI, 68-87.

(5-II) THE NEW NATION; DOMINATION OF INTERNAL PROBLEMS.

(5) *Money and Banking, 1811-1829.*

(a) *National.*

(1) Early history: First Nat. Bank, 1791-1811; management; recharter, 1811—rejection: vote-party, section; position, Gallatin, Crawford, Clay, &c.; condition and experiences, 1811-1816.

(2) Second Nat. Bank, 1816; recommendation Dallas; bills, 1815, veto—reasons; of 1816; vote; position parties; provisions—capital, term, government, powers; depository for government revenue—bonus; mismanagement, 1817-19—enemies; reform under Cheves; Biddle president, 1823-1841; conditions, 1821-1829; question of constitutionality in minds people; by Supreme Court—McCulloch vs. Md., 1819.

(b) *State.*

(1) Early years; State laws; inadequacy; reform in Mass. 1812—the Suffolk system.

(2) 1812-1816; enormous growth—reasons; paper money—amount, character; suspension specie payments—meaning, effects.

(3) 1817-1829; gradual reforms; New York system, 1829.

(c) *Money.*

(1) National: silver—mainly foreign; gold almost none; paper, issued by banks.

(2) State: paper money—amount, value, and effects.

(d) *Deposit Government Revenue.*

(1) 1791-1811, 1816-1833, in National banks.

(2) 1811-1816 in State banks.

(e) *Personnel:* Lowndes, Cheves, Wm. Wirt.

Questions: (1) What line of argument did Clay follow in his speech on the bank in 1808? (2) How did Gallatin stand in regard to recharter? (3) What position did the Federalists take in regard to a national bank 1816? (4) Outline the terms of the bank charter of 1816? (5) What was the "Suffold system" in relation to State banking? (6) What was the condition of the paper money about 1812-17? (7) What is meant by the "suspension of specie payments," 1814? (8) By whom was the government revenue held and paid out 1812-16?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XIII, 216-230; Gordy, II, 341-358; McMaster, IV, 280-318; Schouler, II, 493-498; Hildreth, VI, 581-584, 630-631, 651-653, 679-681; Dewey, Financial Hist., 144-161; Bolles, Financial Hist., II, 261-284, 317-358; Sumner, Hist. of the American Currency, 68-79; H. C. Adams in J. H. U. Studies, II; Knox, U. S. Notes, 21-39; Young, Am. Statesman, 272-273, 281-282; Schurz, Clay, I, 132-137; Lodge, Webster, 58-67; Curtis, Webster, I, 140-152; Coman, Industrial History, 193-196; Burgess, Middle Period, 1-18; Curtis, Webster, I, 146-152; Von Holst, I, 382-388; Callender, Economic Hist. U. S. 564-578; McElroy, Kentucky in the Nations History, 377-395.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 377-339; MacDonald, Select Documents, 207-212, Documentary Source Book, 302-306; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 441-450; Richardson, Messages, I, 555-557; Clark & Hall, Bank U. S., 619-656, 714f; Elliott, Funding System, 588-595, 609-611, 623f, 670-676, 688-693, 733-762; Benton, V, 469-477, 595-608; Annals of Congress, 1814-1815, 994-1030, 1816-1817, 1337-1344.

Special: Am. Hist. Ass. Report (1896), I, 361-372.

(6) *The tariff, 1789-1824.*(a) *First stage in development of protection, 1783-1793.*

(1) State of mind, 1783-86: against restriction; universal liberty.

(2) Restriction, 1786-1789: due to policy European nations; American relation; formation of the constitution—national control of trade.

(3) Under the constitution: tariff acts, 1789-1792; basis—revenue, *retaliation*, economic protection; Hamilton's report on manufacturers.

(b) *Second stage, 1793-1815.*

- (1) First period, 1793-1807: European wars; profitableness and dominance of agriculture and commerce; manufactures at a standstill.
- (2) Second period, 1807-1815: embargo, non-intercourse, and war; ruin commerce; uncertainty market for agriculture; necessity for manufactures—supply of labor and capital; development cotton, woollen, iron, &c. industries.

(c) *Third stage, 1815-1824.*

- (1) Conditions in England, 1815: accumulation manufactured goods, no market, sell in America—auction.
- (2) In America: necessity of protection—"infant industries"; a "home market"; new national spirit.
- (2) Act of 1816: terms, rates on cottons, wool, woollens, &c.; the "minimum principle"; vote—party, section, "interests" for and against; arguments—pro and con; state papers—Dallas report, &c.
- (3) Act 1818: extension "minimum principle" to iron.
- (4) 1818-1824: effect crisis, 1819-21; sectionalization.

Questions: (1) How do you explain the "state of mind" of the American people in regard to "free trade" about 1783? (2) What is meant by "retaliation" and "reciprocity"? (3) How did the course of events affect the principle of protection in the United States, 1793-1815? (4) What were the two chief arguments for a protective tariff, 1816? (5) How do you explain the opposition to protection on the part of Mass. previous to 1824? (6) What was Calhoun's attitude to protection in 1816—how explain? (7) What is meant by the "minimum principle"? (8) How did the sections divide in regard to protection, about 1824?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XIII, 231-242; Gordy, II, 352-354; McMaster, IV, 490-493, 510-521; Schouler, II, 490-500; Schurz, Clay, I, 129-131; Curtis, Webster, I, 129-132; Dewey, Financial Hist., 161-165; Bolles, Financial Hist., II, 284-293, 359-366; Taussig, Tariff Hist., 7-75; Elliott, Leland Stanford, Jr., Publications, 67-112, 113-162, 163-214; Sumner, Protection, 17-44; Hill, First Stages of Tariff Controversy, 75-107, 107-132; Stanwood, Am. Tariff Controversy, I, 39-110, 111-199; Hildreth, VI, 681-682; H. C. Adams in J. H. U. Studies, II; Bogard, Economic Hist. U. S., 130-154; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 355-370; Coman, Industrial Hist., 138-146, 180-190; Rogers, The True Henry Clay, 214-230; Curtis, Webster, I, 152-153; Rabbeno, Am.

Commercial Policy, 146-183, 286-354; Callender, Economic Hist. U. S., 487-498; Cambridge Modern Hist., VII, 349-357.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 334-337; Hart, Contemporaries, 434-436; Benton, Abridgments, I, 57-64, 72-84, IV, 393-398, 588-590; Niles, Register, IX, 447-451; Annals, 1789-1791, 176-230, 292-365; 1816-1817, 1239-1248, 1314-1338, 1651-1656, 1666-1695, 1702-1711; Am. State Papers, Finance, I, 743-744; II, 425-431, 666-689, III, 85-93, 594-624, 636-639.

(7) *Industrial and Economic Conditions: Crisis of 1819.*

(a) *General conditions.*

(1) Population: increase, distribution—city and country, sections, center of population.

(2) Area: settled, open; free, slave.

(3) Commerce and trade: manufactures—kinds, amounts; agriculture—crops.

(b) *Era of speculation, 1815-1818.*

(1) Causes: return of world-peace—hopefulness; superabundance money; development of a new country; inventions—steam-boat, &c.

(2) Manifestations: imports, 1815—\$83,000,000, 1816—\$155,000,000; exports, 1815—\$46,000,000, 1816—\$65,000,000; revenue, 1816; estimated \$13,000,000, actual \$36,000,000; immigration.

(3) Result—crisis.

(c) *The Crisis, 1819-22.*

(1) General causes: *psychological*—mass movements, alternation hope and depression; *industrial organization of the age*—a credit basis, industrial world a unity, localization of industry, production for the future.

(2) Special: *time* and *intensity* determining—degree of speculation, intensity of reaction; wars and crop conditions; international sympathy; monetary and banking conditions; legislation.

(3) History: prices; industry—labor, wages; banks and money; governmental revenues; national debt.

(d) *Recovery.*

(1) Reasons: completion of period of saving and debt payment; psychological revival—a new generation of business men; consumption of existing goods—necessity of new production; reversal conditions; legislation.

(2) Time:—Clay—Webster statements of 1824.

Questions: (1) What were the leading agricultural productions of each section, about 1815-1820? (2) What industry dominated New England previous to about 1820? (3) How do you explain the speculation of the years 1815-1818? (6) What great difference in world trade relationships came in with modern inventions? (4) Dates of the great crisis in American history. (5) Had these periodical crises prevailed previous to the 19th century? (7) By what date had the country recovered from the crisis of 1819? (8) Why did it recover? (9) How did the crisis affect protection? (10) Was there a crisis in Europe at this time?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XIV, 134-148; McMaster, IV, 341-350, 484-525; Schouler, II, 230-248; III, 109-120; H. Adams, IX, 154; Dewey, Financial Hist., 165-171; Gordy, II, 445-465; Juglar, A Brief History of Panics, 32-53; Jones, Hist. of Crises; Noyes, Atlantic Monthly, 98: 433-445; Gouge, Paper Money and Banking, 75-82; Bishop, Hist. of Am. Manufactures, II, 248f.; Walker, Making of the Nation, Appendix.

Source: Census Report, 1820; Hart, Contemporaries, 430-433; Niles, Register, Vol. 15, 418-20, 217-222; Vol. 16, 136-137; 263-264, 337-340; Vol. 17, 116-120, 145-146; Vol. 18, 151, 287, 321, 448, 464; Am. State Papers, Finance, under Manufactures.

(8) *Internal improvements, 1789-1829.*

(a) *Under the Federalists, 1789-1801.*

- (1) Importance: recognition by Washington; retention west, unify nation.
- (2) Meagerness of accomplishment: dominance of other interests—putting constitution into operation; New England's apathy—fair roads, short distances, commercial interests, jealousy west and south.
- (3) Work: by nation—light houses, buoys, &c.; by states—canals, rivers, turnpikes—first in Pa., 1792.

(b) *Under Republicans, 1801-1812.*

- (1) Strength Republicans: in south and west—vast distances, lack of roads, canals, &c.; recognition of necessity.
- (2) Comprehensive plans: Jefferson's Messages—constitutional amendment; Gallatin's Report, 1808—roads and canals connecting all sections; coast survey.
- (3) Work: by nation—meager; Cumberland road, harbors, light-houses, &c.; delay—embargo, &c.; by States—extensive movements.

(c) *Under National Republicans, 1815-1829.*

- (1) Construction of Cumberland Road.
- (2) Calhoun's plans; Bonus bill; Madison's veto, 1817; great debate 1818—affirmation of Constitutional right.

- (3) Monroe's veto, 1823—arguments; river and harbor bills—national scope.
- (4) State action: Erie canal by N. Y.; other canals, roads, &c.; state debts.
- (5) A party question—a sectional tendency.

Questions: (1) Who was perhaps the first man to recognize fully the importance of a system of internal improvements? (2) Would you expect the Federalists to favor—did they? (3) Were conditions such as to make the Republicans more or less favorable in practice? (4) What was Jefferson's attitude towards internal improvements? (5) Outline Gallatin's plan as reported in 1808? (6) Compare it in relative importance with the Panama canal of today. (7) What was the Cumberland Road? (8) How did Calhoun stand in regard to internal improvements, 1817-1820? (9) What the arguments of Madison in his veto of 1817? (10) From what clauses of the constitution did the friends of internal improvements claim the right to construct? (11) Under whose authority were most of the internal improvements made? (12) What was the greatest single piece of work previous to 1830?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XII, 33f; XIII, 243-258; XIV, 84-III, 224-235; McMaster, IV, 381-429; V, 121-151, 167-168; Schouler, II, 498, III, 247, 295; W. Wilson, III, 236-252; Coman, 154-166, 201-211; Bogart, Economic Hist. U. S., 170-200; Alexander, A Pol. Hist. of N. Y., I, 241-252; Stevens, Gallatin, 290; Adams, Gallatin, 349-353; Rogers, The True Henry Clay, 93-95; Schurz, Clay, I, 137-138, 142-146; Hurlburt Highways, Vols. 13 and 14—Canals; Vol. X—The Cumberland Road; Vols. 11 and 12—Roads; Callender, Economic Hist., 313-344, 345-367, 387-401, 404f.

Source: Washington, Works, IX, 114-115; Am. State Papers, Miscellaneous, I, 740f, II, 466-467, 533-537; Mallory, Clay, I, 351-352, 356-376; Reed-Colton, Clay, I, 450-475; Calhoun, Works, II, 186-196, V, 40-54; Benton, Abridgment V, 704-710, 721; VI, 120-122; VII, 447-452; Richardson Messages, I, 409-410, 584-585; II, 142-182; Annals, Vol. 31, 1114-1250; Statesman Manual, I, 492, II, 497f; Buchanan, Works (Moore) I, 313-314, 383-396, 398-417; Adams, Memoirs, see index.

(9) *Slavery, 1774-1820.*

(a) *Sectionalization of the Nation, 1776-1804.*

- (1) Influence of revolutionary spirit: on slave trade—condemnation by Congress, 1774, forbidden by states, 1798-1804, by nation, 1808: on slavery—discussion in South, emancipation in North, 1780-1804.
- (2) Result: Northern States and North-west territory, free; Southern States and South-west territory, slave.
- (3) Public belief: slavery a dying institution.

(b) *Intensification of Sectionalism, 1804-1820.*

(1) Industrial development: rise of manufactures, commerce, intensive agriculture in North—free (skilled) labor; the cotton gin (1793) and “short staple” cotton in South—cotton and slavery in uplands—unification of South.

(2) Rise of new generation—character, effect.

(c) *Preservation of Equilibrium.*

(1) In Senate: alternate admission of slave and free States—Vt. (1791), Ky. (1792), Tenn. (1796); O. (1803), La. (1812); Ind. (1816), Miss. (1817); Ill. (1818), Ala. (1819); Me. (1820), Mo. (1821).

(2) In House: Representatives, (1793), North, 57, South, 53; (1820), North 133, South 90. Population: (1790), North, 1,768,000, South, 1,761,000; (1820), North, 5,132,000, South, 4,522,000.

(d) *Important Events.*

(1) First Congressional debate 1790—resolutions.

(2) Fugitive slave act, cotton gin, 1793.

(3) Slavery: recognition in Miss. Territory, 1798; in D. C., 1800; in Louisiana Purchase, 1804.

(5) Slave trade, 1808.

(6) Colonization: Jefferson's scheme, 1801; Colonization Society, 1816; Liberia, 1820.

(7) Illicit importation of slaves—Amelia Island, &c.

Questions: (1) Why was the Declaration of Independence silent on the question of slavery? (2) What justification for the belief rather prevalent about 1800 that slavery would die out? (3) How do you explain the rise of sectionalism? (4) How do you explain the gain of the North over the South in population, 1790-1820? (5) What effect can you trace from this fact? (6) Give terms of the fugitive slave act. (7) Would you call the South a pro-slave section before 1815? (8) Outline Jefferson's ideas in regard to slavery and emancipation. (9) When was the slave trade abolished—what was the chief item in debate?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XII, 83-84, 100-110; XIV, 45-66, 75-80, 92-95, 149-154; Gordy, II, 390-406; Von Holst, I, 273-356; H. Wilson, Rise and Fall of Slave Power, I, 18-97; Burgess, Middle Period, 39-60; Schouler, I, 156-157, 160-162; II, 62-66, 142-147, 259-270; III, 99-101, 134-146; McMaster, II, 15-22, 162-165; III, 42-45, 514-528; IV, 556-569; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist. I, 83-105; Rhodes, I, 12-29; Elson, Hist. U. S., 456-459; Smith, A Political Hist. of Slavery, I, 1-32; Hildreth, IV, 91-96, 174-204; 386-388, 500-504; V, 642-644; VI, 635-638, 660; Reed, The Brothers' War, 1-61; Merriam, The Negro and the Nation; Thomas, The American Negro; Du Bois, Suppression of the

Slave Trade, 39-130; Spears, *The African Slave Trade*; Williams, II, 1-30; Davis, *Confederate Government*, I, 3-12.

Source: Caldwell, *Survey of Am. History*, 124-145; Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, 214-221; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, 171-176; Randall, *Jefferson*, III, 667-668, index; Benton, *Abridgment*, I, 201-238, 397; II, 221-224; III, 494-502; Ames *State Documents*, No. 4, 1-4; *Annals of Congress*, index; *Am. State Papers*, Misch. II, 957-975.

(10-II) *The Missouri Compromise, 1819-21.*

(a) *Preliminary Conceptions.*

- (1) Unification sections: reasons for; a surprise to both.
- (2) Development of two antagonistic labor systems; extensive—intensive; characteristics each.
- (3) Future equilibrium of sections; new States; extension slavery; struggle for power.

(b) *The First Struggle, 1818-1819.*

- (1) The enabling act: Tallmadge amendment; struggle in House—passage; in the Senate—defeat; deadlock.
- (2) Arkansas Territory: Taylor amendment—defeat.
- (3) Suggestion by McLane (Del.) of a compromise line.
- (4) Debate: leaders—Barbour, Cobb, Scott, &c. vs. Tallmadge, Taylor, Fuller, &c.; arguments—moral, political, industrial, constitutional—right to impose a permanent condition on a new State, power of Congress in a territory.
- (5) The summer of 1819: discussion by people.

(c) *The Second Struggle, 1819-20.*

- (1) Maine vs. Missouri: House vs. Senate; Taylor amendment to Mo. bill; its passage by House; union two bills by Senate; deadlock, March 1.
- (2) Compromise: Thomas amendment—terms; acceptance by Senate, rejection by House; final agreement—terms.
- (3) Great debate: King vs. Pinkney; issues—equality of states, right to impose conditions; control of slavery in territories; meaning “importation and migration”, of terms of Louisiana Purchase.

(d) *The Final Struggle, 1820-1821.*

- (1) Missouri's constitution; questions of constitutionality of free negro exclusion clause; of right to decide—Congress or the Courts; of

moment of Statehood—force of an enabling act.

(2) Debate: bitterness.

(3) Compromise: Clay leader; committee of 13; proposal—final acceptance; Missouri a State, 1821.

(e) *Results.*

(1) Political: legalization of sectionalism.

(2) Constitutional—revivification of doctrines of strict construction and States Rights; assertion of Congressional control over territories.

(3) Slavery: a practical issue.

(f) *Personnel:* R. King, Wm. Pinkney; J. Tallmadge, Taylor.

Questions: (1) Had the North and the South been unconsciously growing apart previous to 1818? (2) What had been the chief factors in the change? (3) What event opened the eyes of both sections? (4) How did the Tallmadge and the Taylor amendments differ? (5) What were the two leading questions in the discussion over the admission of Missouri in 1819, and again in 1820? (6) On which one was the South a unit? (7) What were the exact terms of the compromise of 1820? (8) What was the chief point at issue in the struggle in 1821? (9) How was it compromised? (10) Was the compromise of 1821 a new compromise or merely a supplement to the one of 1820? (11) Who was the author of the compromise of 1821? (12) Why did the Missouri struggle tend to revive the strict construction of the Constitution? (13) What was its general tendency in regard to State's Rights? (14) How did Jefferson regard the compromise? (15) What doctrine prevailed in regard to control of territories? (16) What other theories were suggested?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XIV, 149-171; Burgess, Middle Period, 61-107; Gordy, II, 407-444; Schouler, III, 147-171, 178-186; McMaster, IV, 570-607; Rhodes, I, 29-40; Von Holst, 340-381; H. Wilson, I, 135-161; Thorpe, Const. Hist., II, 361-371; Short Const. Hist., 139-151; Moore, Am. Cong., 221-227; Tucker, Jefferson, 474-475; Young, Am. Statesman, 313-319; Morse, J. A. Adams, 120-124; Schurz, Clay, I, 172-202; Rogers, The True Clay, 235-239; Garland, J. Randolph, II, 118-136; Hunt, Calhoun, 53-56; Morris, Half-Hours, II, 305-316; Elson, Side Lights, I, 149-166; Chase, Teaching of Patriots and Statesmen, 195-282; Merriam, Negro and the Nation, 21-27, 34-39; Hildreth, VI, 661-676, 682-698, 703, 706-713; Am. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, IV, 249f; Randall, Jefferson, III, 454-459; Dixon, The Repeal of the Mo. Compromise, 47-125; Shepard, Van Buren, 75-80; Carr, Missouri in Am. Commonwealth Series, 117-163; J. H. U. Studies, IX, Andrews, Hist. of U. S., III, 52-63.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 344-346; Caldwell, Some Am. Legislators, 39-40; MacDonald, Select Documents, 219-226; Doc-

umentary Source Book; Hart, *Contemporaries*, 452-458; Benton, *Abridgments*, VI, 339f, 350f, 397f; *Annals of Congress*, Vol. 33, 1203f, Vol. 35, 389f, 750f, Vol. 36, 1382f, 146f, 1491f. Niles, *Register*, Vol. 17, 71, 151-154, 199-201, 215-221, 342-344, 442-444; J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, V, 5-15; *Am. Orations*, II, 33f, 63f; Harding, *Select Orations*, 191-211; King, *Life and Correspondence*, VI, 690-703; Larned, *Hist. for Ready Reference*, V, 3360; Ames, *State Documents*, No. V, 4-10;

Special: Am. Hist. Ass. Reports (1893), 249-298.

(12-14) FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1815-1830.

(12) *With England.*

(a) *Issues.*

Commerce; compensation for slaves; slave trade; navigation of rivers—Miss., St. Lawrence; Oregon; the fisheries; boundaries.

(b) *Treaty 1815.*

Commercial; settlement trade relations with England, with East Indies—terms, workings.

(c) *Treaty 1815.*

(1) Negotiations 1815-1818—Adams, Gallatin, Rush vs. Bathurst, Bagot,

(2) Settlement: Oregon, northwest boundary, negro, fisheries questions.

(3) Oregon: joint occupancy—term, conditions.

(4) Negroes: compensation—arbitration; final award.

(5) Boundary: 49° parallel—conditions.

(6) Fisheries: treaty 1783—"rights," "liberty," meaning each; effect war 1812 on treaty—position of England, of America; final settlement—new terms, three mile limit—meaning; new controversies over interpretation, 1818-1910.

(d) *Unsettled Problems.*

(1) West Indian trade, 1815-1829: exclusion, retaliation, destruction; abandonment colonial policy by England, 1825; final settlement, 1829—terms.

(2) Main boundary: treaty of Ghent, 1814; survey, arbitration; decision 1828-1831 by King Netherlands; rejection by the United States; settlement 1842.

(3) Rivers: Miss.—abandonment claim by England; St. Lawrence—position United States, of England; settlement 1871.

(4) Cuba: United States against English acquisition.

(e) *Personnel*: T. Barclay, J. Holmes.

Questions: (1) For what principle did the United States contend regarding the navigation of the St. Lawrence river? (2) What is meant by "joint occupancy"? (3) What question at issue in regard to the north-west boundary in dispute, 1814-18? (4) What "liberties" in regard to the fisheries contained in treaty of 1783? (5) How interpreted by England,—by United States? (6) What interpretations given to the "three mile" provision in the Fisheries treaty? (7) What was the Maine boundary dispute? (8) When and why did England abandon her old Colonial system in regard to colonial trade?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XIII, 259-270; Schouler, III, 121-129 McMaster, IV, 457-474, V, 13-27; Adams, Galatin, 548-552, 568-572, 613-627; Moore, Am. Diplomacy, 427-444; Isham, The Fishery Question, 26-51; Lyman, Diplomacy, II, 59-119, 237-278; Schurz, Clay, I, 123-125, 300-307; Sumner, Jackson, 165-170, 197f; Rush, Court of London, 29-38, 502-626; H. Wilson, Rise and Fall Slave Power, I, 98-122; Schuyler, Diplomacy, Morse, J. Q. Adams, 98-101, 138-149; Young, Am. Statesman, 377-381; Moore, Digest of Int. Law, I, 780-796, 631; V, 223, 711-716, index under topics.

Source: Snow, Am. Diplomacy, 76-81; Am. State Papers, Foreign Relations, VI, 213f, 757f, 893f; Treaties and Conventions, I, 392; Memoirs of J. Q. Adams, III, 218-248, VI, 91, IX, 229, 480, 540, 542, index in Vol. XII.

(13) *With Spain.*

(a) *Over the Floridas.*

- (1) Ownership of West Florida: claim of Jefferson, Monroe, etc.; secret legislation, 1811-1813; seizure, 1812-1814.
- (2) Border troubles: over slaves and slave trade—Amelia Island; British base in War of 1812; Indians.
- (3) The Seminole War, 1816-1818: causes; Jackson's invasion—the Rhea letter, Spain's protest; attitude cabinet—censure; in Congress—Clay's resolutions of censure; defense by Adams—reasons; outcome.

(b) *The Treaty of 1819.*

- (1) Issues: debts, western boundary—Texas, Florida.
- (2) Negotiations: Adams—Don Onis, skill.
- (3) Boundaries: suggestions; final settlement—abandonment Texas; attitude of Clay.
- (4) The purchase of Florida: terms; reasons—establishment natural boundaries, contract of Miss. river and gulf; removal causes of friction.
- (5) Ratification: delay by Spain—reasons; suggestions of seizure; changes; reratification, outcome.

(c) *Cuba.*

Ownership; proposed guaranty in Spain; attitude of United States.

(d) *Spanish America.*

(1) Revolutions: aid from United States—neutrality; relation of Florida treaty and recognition of independence.

(2) Independence: attitude of Clay—speeches and resolutions; final actions.

(e) *Personnel:* Don Ouis.

Questions: (1) How did the dispute with Spain over West Florida arise? (2) Was the United States justified in taking possession of West Florida? (3) Into what difficulties did Jackson plunge the United States by his invasion of Florida, 1818? (4) Action of Clay in Congress. (5) Reasons that led United States wish to buy and made Spain ready to sell Florida. (6) What was the total cost to the United States of Florida? (7) Give the American-Spanish boundary of the treaty of 1819. (8) Was Clay justified in his opposition to the Spanish treaty of 1819? (9) Why did the King of Spain delay giving his signature to the treaty?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XIII, 271-289; McMaster, IV, 372-375, 430-456, 474-483; Schouler, III, 24-31, 57-95, 130-132, 175-176, 189; Hildreth VI, 641-646, 658, 712-713; Latané, Diplomatic Relations of U. S. and Spanish Am. 56-88, 89-102; Moore, Am. Diplomacy, 231-233; Foster, Diplomacy, 257-267; Lyman, Diplomacy, II, 129-169; Chadwick, Diplomacy, 121-147; Fuller, The Purchase of Florida, 242-330; Burgess, Middle Period, 19-38; Schouler, Essays; Am. Hist. Mag., Vol. 19, 286-301; Austin, Steps in Expansion, 127-149.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 342-344; Caldwell, Territorial Development, 104-127; MacDonald, Select Documents, 213-219; Hart, Contemporaries, 481-483, 502-506; Clay, Works, Mallory, I, 377-419, 421-445, 448-460; Reed-Colton, I, 232-272, 274-297; Statutes, Vol. 8, 252; Treaties and Conventions; Adams, Memoirs, V, 16-288, index in Vol. XII; Donaldson, Public Domain, 108-120; Niles, Register, Vols. 17 and 18, index, under Florida; Benton, Abridgments, VI, index; Fuller, The Purchase of Florida, Appendix, 333-358, 371-380.

(14) *With the World: The Monroe Doctrine, 1823.*

(a) *South American Conditions.*

(1) 1808, Spanish colonies: colonial policy—trade in hands of mother country.

(2) 1808-1822; revolutions: proclamation of Republics; leaders, Miranda, Bolivar, San Martins, etc.; sympathy of United States; filibustering.

(3) Independence: recognition by United States of Mexico, Central America, South American States; open markets.

(b) *Conditions in Europe, 1815-1823.*

- (1) Holy Alliance, 1815: members; early policy; advent Metternich; transformation Alliance into League; meetings sovereigns; principles regarding constitutions, free speech and free press, self-government; action in Italy, Spain, etc.; plans for Spanish America.
- (2) England's awakening: Canning's proposal; Rush's reply; transmission to United States.
- (3) American response: Adams', Jefferson's, Madison's, Monroe's positions; influence Canning's statement.

(c) *The Monroe Doctrine, Dec. 2, 1823.*

- (1) Occasion for proclamation—European program.
- (2) Policies in doctrine: *neutrality*—a growth, Washington, Jefferson, &c; *non-action by European nations in American affairs*—colonization, interposition, and extension European system of government; reasons for each principle.
- (3) Authorship—claimants.
- (4) Effects—immediate, ultimate.
- (5) Contemporaneous interpretation—by Adams, by House of Representatives.

(d) *Personnel*: Metternich, Geo. Canning, R. Rush.

Questions: (1) Into how many general divisions may the Monroe Doctrine be divided? (2) What are its essential principles as laid down Dec. 2, 1823? (3) What changes in the Americas preliminary to the promulgation of the "Monroe" side of the Monroe Doctrine? (4) What European conditions brought about the immediate proclamation? (5) Is Canning's claim to authorship well founded? (6) For what principles did the Congress of Verona, 1822, declare? (7) What proposal by Canning to Rush? (8) Did the Monroe Doctrine establish a legal principle? (9) What was the contemporaneous interpretation of its meaning? (10) Upon what force did it depend for its effectiveness?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XIV, 199-223; Gordy, II, 484-496; McMaster, V, 28-54; Schouler, III, 277-292; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist. I, 324-340; Burgess, Middle Period, Von Holst, I, 409-420; Thorpe, Const. Hist. II, 379-385; Moore, Am. Diplomacy, 131-167; Latané, Diplomatic Relations, U. S. and Spanish Am. 68-88; Snow, Am. Diplomacy, 237-294; Chadwick, Diplomacy, 185-204; Henderson, Am. Diplomatic Questions, 289; Hart, Foundations of Am. Foreign Policy; Muller, Hist. of Nineteenth Century, 1f; McMaster, With the Fathers, 1-54; Tucker, The Monroe Doctrine; Reddaway, The Monroe Doctrine; Edington, The Monroe Doctrine, Poole, Index for Magazine Lit., Am. Hist. Soc. R, III, 77-90, 676-695.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 346-349; Hart Contemporaries, III, 479-480, 487-489, 494-502; MacDonald, Select Documents, 228-231; Am. Hist. Leaflets, No. 4; Richardson, Messages and Papers, II, 329; Jefferson, Writings (Ford) X, 249-250, 256-258, 261-262, 277-278, 283; Madison, Writings (Congressional Ed.) III, 329-331, 339-341, 345-348; Rush, Court of London, 412-480.

Special: Am. Hist. Ass. Reports, (1805), I, 123-132.

(15-17) END OF REPUBLICANISM.

(15) *The New West; A Rising Power.*

(a) *Movement to the West, 1815-1830.*

(1) Extent: Per cent increase, 1820-1830; La. 41; Tenn. and O., 61; Miss., 81; Ala., 142; Ind., 133; Ill., 185; total increase from 2,217,000 to 3,700,000; voting power, House 47 out of 213; Senate 18 out of 48 members.

(2) Types: the aggressive, discontented, hardy, ambitious; democratic.

(3) New States, 1812-1821; La., Ind., Miss., Ill., Ala., Mo.

(4) Area: Vast—unlimited outlook, unbounded imagination.

(5) Significance: Most significant in American History, 1812-1830.

(b) *Industrial development; transportation.*

(1) Industries: stock, cereals, cotton.

(2) cost transportation; 1817—\$10.00 per 100, 1825, \$3.00; reduction by means of steam, roads and canals to one-third in 15 years; yet wheat in Ill. per bu. 25c., on coast, 80c.

(3) Significance steamboat vs. raft—drifting, down-stream, southward, slaveryward; steamboat—up-stream, positive, scientific, northward, anti-slavery.

(c) *General awakening.*

(1) Inventions—new power over nature: use of anthracite coal, gas for city lighting, railroads, etc.

(2) Labor: labor organizations; demands—shorter hours, better wages; beginning of modern ideas.

(3) Schools: public, education a public duty; self-government—education a preparation.

(d) *General Results.*

(1) Passing of European standards; new ideas—confidence in American ideals—looking to future.

(2) New organizations: democratic in character.

Questions: (1) What factors led to the great westward migration after 1810? (2) Relative increase in growth of population

in various sections, 1810-1830: (3) How did cost of transportation influence public opinion in regard to internal improvements? (4) From what section of the country did the great majority of the early settlers in O., Ind. and Ill. come? (5) What change begins to be prominent in regard to origin of settlers in these states by 1830? (6) What proof can be given today to show different origin of settlers in northern and southern Ill. for example? (7) Was there any movement in the Eastern States in general harmony with the demands of the West? (8) How do you explain such a general awakening in regard to education about 1830?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XIV, 67-133; McMaster, IV, 381-410; V, 82-108, 121-174; 268-372; Schouler, III, 346-355; Coman, Industrial Hist., 180-185, 201-211; Wright, Industrial Hist., 117-142; 215-228, 231-240; Sparks, Expansion of the Am. People, 227-289; Bogard, Economic Hist. of U. S., 170-215, 238-246; Callender, Economic Hist. of U. S., 617-633, 666-690.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 380-395; Hart, Contemporaries, 459-478, 509-530; De Tocqueville, Democracy in Am., II, 161-178, 208-241, 249f, 266-281; Grund, The Americans; Dickens, Am. Notes; Harriet Martineau, Travels in the U. S.; Mackay, A Trip Through the U. S.; Chambers, Things as They Are in Am.

Special: Am. Hist. Ass. Reports (1893), 197-220; Am. Hist. Review, XI, 303-327.

(16) *Disintegration Parties, 1816-1824.*

(a) *Federal dissolution.*

- (1) Reasons: sectionalism of party strength; no foreign recruits; position in war of 1812—non-patriotic; passing old conditions of division, as foreign relations, aristocracy, interpretation constitution; new issues—cross-cutting old lines of demarcation.
- (2) Result: tendency to disintegration of its party-antagonist.

(b) *Personal politics, 1818-1824.*

- (1) Characteristics: jealousies personalities, intrigues.
- (2) Local struggles: New York—Clintonians and Antis; Penn., personal issues.
- (3) Leaders: Clay, Adams, Jackson, Calhoun, Crawford, Webster, Gallatin, Rush, Clinton, Lowndes, etc.
- (4) Election 1820: no opposition to Monroe—"Era of Good Feeling."
- (5) Congress: character; occupation—presidential making.

(c) *Election 1824.*

- (1) Candidates: Adams, Jackson, Crawford, Clay, Calhoun, Clinton.

- (2) Campaign: methods nomination—caucus, state legislatures, mass meetings; personalities; methods choosing electors—people, state legislatures.
- (3) Result, Jackson, 99; Adams, 84; Crawford, 41; Clay, 37; no choice—election by House.
- (d) *Personnel*: S. Thompson, J. McLean, Major Lewis.

Questions: (1) Why did the Federal party disappear? (2) Did the Federal party go beyond a legitimate opposition to the Central government during the war of 1812? (3) Was the "Era of Good Feeling" well named? (4) What can be said of the ability and work of the Congress sitting from 1821 to 1823? (5) How were the candidates for president nominated, 1824? (6) What were the objections to the caucus system? (7) To what party had the candidates belonged? (8) How far was the campaign of 1824 fought on principles?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XIV, 172-198; Gordy, II, 511-560; Burgess, Middle Period, 1-18, 131-165; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., II, 178-182; McMaster, IV, 357-371, 376-380; V, 55-81, 488-515; Schouler, III, 1-17, 43-54, 256-270, 324, 326-345, 397-417; Woodburn, Political Parties, 31-37; W. Wilson, III, 266-270; Alexander, A Political Hist. of N. Y., I, 321-356; Morse, J. Q. Adams, 149-205; Schurz, Clay, I, 203-267; Hunt, Calhoun, 47-62; Rogers, The True Clay, 124-144; Lodge, Webster, 140-146; Curtis, Webster, I, 235-239; Stanwood, Hist. of the Presidency, 115-136; Buell, Jackson, index; Orth, Five Am. Politicians, 192-196; Garland, J. Randolph, II, 227-233; Moore, Am. Cong., 237-259; Young, Am. Statesman, 341-348; Winsor, Narrative and Critical Hist., VII, 281-282; Meigs, Benton, 117-143; McClure, Our Presidents, etc., 39-44; Parton, Jackson, III, 11-54; Wise, Seven Decades, 76-83.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 349-351; Adams, Memoirs VI, 240-248, 265f; Weed, Reminiscences, I, 67-156; Benton, Thirty Years View, I, 44-45; Benton, Abridgment, VII, 517-540, 600-603; Niles, Register, Vol. 26, index, "Presidential;" Clay, Works, Mallory, Colton, Reed-Colton, Table of Contents.

Special: Am. Hist. Ass. Reports, (1904), 175-202.

(17) *Reorganization Parties, 1825-1828.*

(a) *Election, 1825.*

- (1) In the House; candidates—Jackson, Adams, Crawford; strength each; attempted combinations; position Clay—decision; election of Adams by Clay's friends; charge of a "corrupt bargain"; investigation—evidence, conclusion; opinion of Jackson; error of Clay and Adams.

(b) *The "Ins"—"Adams Men."*

- (1) Adams policy: message—national, broad construction, aggressive; effect.

- (2) Clay as Secretary of State: treaties; American; positive.
- (3) Measures—appointment ministers, Panama Congress, 1826; national university.
- (4) National republicans: origin and significance, name; composition.
- (5) Principles, on bank, tariff, internal improvements, army and navy, strong government; appointments and removals.
- (c) *The "Outs"—"Jackson Men."*
 - (1) Combination: friends Jackson, Crawford, Calhoun; organizer—Van Buren; a party of opposition.
 - (2) Party cognomen: Democratic Republicans—origin and significance of name; composition.
 - (3) Principles: personal—"vindicate Jackson and the people;" on subject matter—bank, tariff, internal improvements, debt, taxation, surplus.
- (d) *Election, 1828.*
 - (1) Candidates: Jackson, Adams—method of nomination.
 - (2) Principles.
 - (3) Campaign: character—personal, vituperative.
 - (4) Result: Jackson, 178; Adams, 83—its significance.
- (e) *Personnel:* J. Forsyth, Van Buren, Isaac Hill.

Questions: (1) What various combinations of candidates suggested during the campaign? (2) What charges made in regard combinations attempted or entered into after the popular vote? (3) Did Clay err in accepting the position of Secretary of State? (4) Was there any sectional tendency in the reorganization of parties? (5) How did the Federalists divide in the reformation of parties? (6) What significance in the new party names? (7) Was either one, if so which one, was the legitimate successor of the Jeffersonian party? (8) What tendency manifest by 1828 in regard to new party principles? (9) Is it legitimate to say that the new parties were the old ones under new names?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XIV, 261-285, 286-332; Gordy, 561-581; Stanwood, Hist. of Presidency, 136-150; Schurz, Clay, 236-350; Burgess, Middle period, 142-165; Parton, Jackson, III, 54-120, 137-152; McMaster, V, 78-81, 488-498, 513-520; Schouler, III, 326-345, 356-366, 397-439; Alexander, A Pol. Hist., I, 357-369; Morse, J. Q. Adams, 174-220; Schurz, Clay, I, 236-350; Rogers, The True Clay, 124-144; Orth, Five Am. Politicians, 196-210; McClure, Our Presidents and How We Make Them, 44-51; Wise, Seven Decades, 83-89, 112-116; W. Wilson, III, 280-291.

Source: Cluskey, Political Text Book, 86f, 686f; Sargent, Men and Events, I, Index; Mallory, Clay, I, 594; Reed-Colton, Clay, I, 309-426; Benton, View, I, 46-50, 54-86; Niles, Vol. 27, 353, 366-368, 386; Vol. 28, 71-79, 134-138; Benton, Abridgment, VIII, 292-324; Weed, Reminiscences, I, 157-183, 195-350, 469f.

(18) *The Supreme Court, 1789-1837.*

(a) *Membership.*

- (1) Chief-justices: Jay, Rutledge, Ellsworth, 1789-1801; John Marshall, 1801-1837.
- (2) Other distinguished members: James Wilson, Joseph Story.

(b) *Practice.*

- (1) Rejection all non-judicial work: act as commissioners, pronounce opinions on request president.
- (2) Early decisions: number—few; character—mainly unimportant.
- (3) Result: inferior position of court.
- (4) Beginning of constitutional importance, 1803: Marshall in *Marbury vs. Madison*—power court to declare laws void.

(c) *Famous Cases.*

- (1) Principles upheld: broad construction of constitution; national sovereignty.
- (2) Specific cases: *McCulloch vs. Md.* (1819)—doctrine of implied powers; *American Insurance Co. vs. Canter* (1828)—right to acquire territory; *Martin vs. Hunter's Lessee* (1816)—right of Supreme Court to declare void State legislative acts; *Dartmouth College cases* (1819)—States not able to impair contracts; *Cohens vs. Virginia* (1821) right of appeal from State Supreme to United States Supreme Court; *Gibbons vs. Ogden* (1824)—regulation of commerce.

(d) *Personnel:* J. Story, Bushrod Washington.

Questions: (1) How do you explain the resignation of Jay as chief-justice to become the governor of New York? (2) By what time were the members of the Supreme Court appointees of Republican presidents? (3) Were their decisions in harmony with broad or strict construction? (4) What was Jefferson's attitude towards the Supreme Court? (5) Has time justified or condemned him? (6) When did the Supreme Court become in fact an equal of the other departments of government? (7) What was the courts great work between 1815 and 1830? (8) What principles were established by the great decisions during these years?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XIII, 290-308; Landon, Const. Hist. 226-280; McClain, Constitutional Law, 4-25,

219-255; Hart, Actual Government, 295-319; Michigan Law Lectures, 53-120; Magruder, Marshall, 159-198; Bascom, Growth of Nationality, 1-45; Thayer, Marshall, 54-157; Bryce, Am. Commonwealth, I, 178-200; Cooley, Constitutional Limitations, ch. 7; Story, Commentaries, I, 377-551; Story, Life and Letters of Story, I, 211-574, II, 1-160; Van Santvoort, Lives of the Chief Justices, 295-456; Carson, The Supreme Court, 195-287; Harvard Law Review, VII, 129f.

Source: Boyd, Cases, 32-40, 172-191, 308-324, 412-430, 583-584, 603-615, 627-637. Thayer, Cases, I, 107f, 123f, 271f, 285f, 350f, II, 1564f, 1800f. Supreme Court Reports, See Digest for Cases.

CHAPTER V.

DEMOCRACY IN THE SADDLE; THE FRONTIER AND THE WEST DOMINANT, 1828-1843.

GENERAL REFERENCES FOR THE PERIOD, 1829-1843.

Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XIV, 299-332; XV, XVI, XVII, 1-85; Schouler, IV, 1-427; McMaster, V, 526-556; VI, VII, 1-285; Elson, Hist. of U. S., 478-515; Young, Am. Statesman, 476-702; Stanwood, Hist. of Pres., 142-206; McClure, Our Presidents, 47-75; Burgess, Middle Periods, 166-288; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 393-437; II, 1-66; W. Wilson, Hist. of Am. People, I, f; Von Holst, I, 459-505; II, 1-500; Fess, Pol. Theory, 120-178; Andrews, Hist. of U. S., III, 63-179; Austin, Steps in Expansion, 150-164; Cambridge, Mod. Hist., VII, 378-394; DuBois, Suppression of Slave Trade, 151f; Stanwood, Tariff Controversies, I, 291-409; II, 1-38; Taussig, Hist. of Tariff, 109-160; Bolles, Financial Hist., 375-413; H. Wilson, Rise and Fall of Slave Power, I, 165-438; Coman, Industrial Hist., 191-212; Dewey, Financial Hist., 172-246; Foster, Century of Diplomacy, 273-309; Woodburn, Pol. Parties, 38-65; Parton, Jackson, III, 164-641; Sumner, Jackson, 119-387; Morse, J. Q. Adams, 226-306; Lodge, Webster, 150-257; Curtis, Webster, I, 347-612; II, 1-205; Rogers, The True H. Clay, 145-320; Schurz, H. Clay, II, 1-229; Hunt, Calhoun, 121-258; Von Holst, Calhoun; Pinckney, Calhoun; Roosevelt, Benton, 63-281; Meigs, Benton, 183-276; H. A. Wise, Seven Decades of the Union, 119-215; Garrison's Garrison, Vols. I-IV; Larned, Hist. for Ready Reference.

Sources: Caldwell and Persinger, 353-397; Caldwell, Survey of Am. Hist., 123-171; MacDonald, Select Documents, 238-343; Documentary Source Book, 320-368; Hart, Contemp., III, 527-696; Richardson, Messages, II, 434f; III; IV, 1-74; Ames, State Documents on Federal Relations, 128-237; Sargent, Public Men and Events, I, 81-349; II, 1-112; Statesman's Manual, II; Nile's Register, Vol. 38f; Memoirs of J. Q. Adams, VIII; Benton, Thirty Years' View, I, 119-739; Benton, Abridgment of Cong. Debates; Annals of Congress; Debates of Congress; Congressional Globe; Works of Statesmen, as Clay, Calhoun, Buchanan, Fillmore, Webster, Madison, Tyler, etc.

E. DEMOCRACY IN THE SADDLE; THE FRONTIER AND THE WEST DOMINANT, 1828-1843.

- (1) *Leadership, 1829-1841:* Jackson and Benton of democracy; Webster of nationality; Calhoun and J. Q. Adams of rising sectionalism; Clay of compromise.

- (a) *Jackson, 1767-1845.*
 - (1) Formative years: ancestry, early environment, Revolutionary experiences, education, law.
 - (2) In Tenn.: prosecutor, member constitutional convention; congressman; judge, leader militia; planter, merchant.
 - (3) Military career: Indians, war 1812; Seminole war.
 - (4) A National character: Senator, presidential candidate; friends, enemies; principles; characteristics—physical, intellectual, moral.
- (b) *Thos. H. Benton, 1782-1858.*
 - (1) Early years: family, environment in N. C.; in Tenn.; education, law, planter; legislator.
 - (2) Missouri: Senate, principles, measures, party; characteristics—physical, mental, moral.
- (c) *J. Q. Adams, 1767-1848.*
 - (1) Beginnings: family, early surroundings—at home, in Europe; education—Harvard.
 - (2) Public apprenticeship; diplomacy—Holland, Senator; minister to Russia; treaty peace, 1814; minister to England.
 - (3) Later career: secretary of state; president; character, personality, principles, measures.
- (d) *D. Webster, 1782-1852.*
 - (1) Life in New Hampshire: home life, education, student, law; member House; politics; lawyer.
 - (2) Removal to Mass., 1816; Boston lawyer, orator—great orations; returns to House; principles—bank, tariff, internal improvements, land; enters the Senate—changes.
 - (3) Characteristics: physical—size, voice, appearance; intellectual, logic, language, power; moral qualities; standing 1829—political, oratorical, principles; strength, weakness.

Questions: (1) Can you find in these men any characteristics that mark their early environment? (2) What physical advantages did they have? (3) Compare the four in educational opportunities. (4) How did their education seemingly affect their careers? (5) How do they rank in intellectual endowments? (6) In what line of work did each do greatest service for his country? (7) Can you pick out six men today who would rank on a par with the six here named? (8) Why did only two reach the presidency? (9) On the whole which one stands highest in your estimation—why?

References: (a) "Jackson:" Lives—Brown, Buell, Dusenberry, Parton, Sumner, Stoddard; Thatcher, Ideas that Have Influenced Civilization, VIII, 274; Am. Nation, XI, 147; XV, 16-27; Sparks, Men Who Have Made the Nation, 282-317; Schouler, III, 451-

465, IV, 112-117, 264-274; Fiske, *Essays*, I, 219-315; Roosevelt, *Benton*, 63; McMaster, II, III, IV, Index; Benton, *Thirty Years' View*; Peck, *Jacksonian Epoch*; *New Internat. Ency.*; *Source*—Hart, *Contemp.*, III, 483-487, 531-535, 540-544, 548-553; Richardson, *Messages*, II, 435; III, 1-308; *Statesman's Manual*, II.

(b) "Thos. H. Benton:" *Lives*—Meigs, Roosevelt; Thatcher, *Ideas that Have Influenced Civilization*, VIII, 196; *Source*—Benton, *Thirty Years' View*; *Am. Orations*, I, 320.

(c) "J. Q. Adams:" *Lives*—Morse, Seward, Stoddard; Josiah Quincy, *Memoir*; Schouler, III, Index; Thatcher, *Ideas that Have Influenced Civilization*, VIII, 28; *Source*—J. Q. Adams' *Memoirs* (12 Vols. ed. by Chas. F. Adams); Caldwell, *Some Am. Legislators*, 27-57; Richardson, *Messages*, II, 291-432; *Statesman's Manual*, I.

(d) "Daniel Webster:" *Lives*—Curtis (2 Vols.), Everett, Gould, King, Lanman, Lodge, McMaster, Parton, Scudder, Wheeler, (*Webster, the Expounder of the Constitution*); Reed, *The Brother's War*, 130-60; Fiske, *Hist. Essays*, I, 363-411; Veeder, *Legal Masterpieces*, 470-580; Harvey, *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of D. Webster*; Sparks, *Men Who Made the Nation*, 318-45; Thatcher, *Ideas that Have Influenced Civilization*, VIII, 246; Reed, *Brother's War*, 130f; *Source*—Caldwell, *Some Am. Legislators*, 75-99; *Letters of D. Webster*; *Private Correspondence* (ed. Fletcher Webster); *Writings and Speeches* (18 Vols.); *Am. Orations*, II, Table of Contents; McDonald, *Select Documents*, 240-49, 255-59; Bryan, *World's Famous Orations*, IX, 3-63; *Statesman's Manual*, I, II; *New Internat. Ency.*

(2) *Democracy Demands change and Seeks Reform 1825-1891.*

(a) *Organization of Jackson's Administration.*

(1) Cabinet: State (Van Buren); War (Eaton) Treasury (Ingham); Navy (Branch), Atty. General (Berrien), P. M. Gen. (Barry); later changes.

(2) "Kitchen Cabinet":—Lewis, Green, Blair, Kendall, Hill.

(b) *The Civil Service—"Rotation in Office."*

(1) Previous history: partisan; growing bureaucracy; cry—aristocracy of office holders.

(2) Basis new policy: party warfare—spoils to victors; competency of masses; special equipment unnecessary.

(3) Application: removals—number, reasons, effects.

(4) Outcome—"Spoils system."

(c) *Betterments in Life of Masses.*

(1) Education: public, free, universal; duty of State; improvements; newspapers—number, change in character, reasons; literature—rising American, new quality, development.

- (2) Temperance: societies, reform, reasons; extent "tippling" houses—character.
- (3) Religious revivals: extent; clauses, effect.
- (4) Prisons: character, improvement; for debt—extent, laws against, reasons.
- (5) Labor: demands, hours, wages, position; cooperative societies—Brookfarm, etc.; Owen, Fanny Wright, etc.; woman rights.
- (d) *Extending Democracy.*
 - (1) World Wide: French Revolution, 1830; English Reform bill, 1832; unrest Europe.
 - (2) Suffrage: extending; new State Constitutions.
 - (3) First signs of individualism yielding to co-operation.

Questions: (1) What was the relation of Jackson to his cabinet? (2) What do you understand by a "Kitchen cabinet?" (3) What change in civil service came in with Jackson? (4) Was he responsible for the "spoils system?" (5) Give the arguments for a system of "rotation" in office. (6) Were reform measures more marked about 1830 than previously? (7) If so how do you explain it? (8) What significance in a labor party appearing at this time? (9) What movement developed by Robert Dale Owen? (10) Was the political morality improving or retrograding?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nation, XV, 3-16, 43-65, 226-228; McMaster, V, 121-226; 268-372, 519-536; VI, 69-113; Schouler, III, 451-467, 507-529; IV, 1-31; Elson, 478-485; Sparks, The U. S., 1-88; Stanwood, Hist. of Presidency, 150-162; Young, Am. Statesman, 476-486; Sparks, Expansion of Am. People, 259-300; Von Holst, II, 1-31; Sumner, Jackson, 136-163; Clusky, Pol. Text Book.

Sources: Caldwell and Persinger, 356-361, 379-396; Hart, Contemp., III, 509-574; Travels of Europeans in America—De Tocqueville, Democracy in Am., (2 vols.); Mrs. Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans; Francis Kemble, Journal; Harriet Martineau, Society in Am. (2 vols.); Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-weimar Eisenach, Travels in No. Am. (2 vols.); Buckingham, Slave States of Am.; Weld, Travels Through No. Am. States (2 vols.); Wright, Views of Am.; Lyell, Travels in the U. S. (2 vols.); Sargent, Public Men and Events, I, 161-164.

(3) *Foreign Affairs; Indifference and Bluntness of the Self-Satisfied and Self-Absorbed Democracy Toward Foreign Affairs.*

- (a) *England.*
 - (1) West India trade: reopening—1830, method, criticism.
 - (2) Maine boundary: findings of King of Holland, rejection, reasons; Canadian Rebellion—Caroline episode.
 - (3) Oregon: demands of the west.

(b) *France.*

(1) Claims: origin, amount, history.

(2) Treaty, 1830: non-fulfillment by France; reasons; Jackson's demands, message to congress; withdrawal of ministers, danger war; England's offer of good offices—settlement.

(3) Jackson's diplomacy.

(c) *Mexico.*

(1) Texas: attempts to purchase—by Adams, by Jackson; revolution—Houston; independence.

(2) Conditions: revolutions; American claims,—character; treaty 1840—arbitration; non-payment of award by Mexico.

(d) *Texas.*

(1) Annexation: proposals, 1836-1838—rejection, reasons; later lukewarmness of Texas—reasons.

(2) Conditions, 1838-1844; debt, taxes, slavery; intervention by England and France; American desires.

(e) *Personnel*: Sam Houston, Forsyth.

Questions: (1) What was the basis of the commercial difficulty between the U. S. and Gt. Britain? (2) Explain the causes of the Canadian rebellion of 1837—compare conditions with 1776. (3) Reasons for the lukewarmness of the East in regard to the Oregon question. (4) Do you approve of Jackson's course in the French treaty matter? (5) What one commendable feature in American diplomacy in general? (6) What were the American claims against Mexico? (7) Reasons for rejection of Texas offers of Annexation, 1837. (8) Were conditions satisfactory within the Texan republic 1838-1844? (9) Did foreign affairs play a relatively large or small part in our history during this era? (10) How explain?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nation, XV, 200-218; XVI, 276-296; XVII, 67-85, 85-157, 188-285; McMaster, VI, 236-243, 251-271, 299-305, 379-382, 429-466, 513-523; Schouler, IV, 239-257, and Table of Contents; Von Holst, II, 548-634; Burgess, Middle Period, 287-303; W. Wilson, IV, Index; Elson, 496-498; Young, Am. Statesman, Table of Contents; Hildreth, VI, Index; Gordy, II, 484f; Schuyler, 220f; Henderson, Am. Dip. Questions, 289f; Hart, Foundations for Am. Foreign Policy, 211f; Garrison, Texas, 1-269; Snow, Am. Dip., 82f, and Table of Contents; Foster, Diplomacy, 273-297; Holland, Van Buren, 234-261; Sumner, Jackson, 164-184, 343-374; Parton, Jackson, III, 561f; Martin, Van Buren, 223f; Roosevelt, Benton, 154-163f; Lodge, Webster, 235-256; Curtis, Webster, II, Table of Contents; Von Holst, Calhoun, 220-231.

Sources: Caldwell and Persinger, 398-407; Hart, Contemp., I, 637-652; MacDonald, Select Documents, 335-343; Documentary

Source Book, 361-368; Niles, Register, Vols. 14-67, Index; Benton, View, I, Table of Contents; Am. State Papers, Foreign Rel., V, VI; Richardson, Messages, II, 209, 217-219; 329f; 444f, etc.; III, 20f, 100f, 135f, 152f, etc.; Statesman's Manual, II, Table of Contents; J. Q. Adams' Memoirs, Works of Statesmen; Debates in Congress; Congressional Globe; Moore, Digest of International Law, Index, Vol. VIII.

(4-5) ANTAGONISM OF DEMOCRACY TO MONOPOLY AND PRIVILEGE.

(4) *The Second National Bank, 1816-1836.*

(a) *History.*

(1) Previous to 1829: charter 1816; early mismanagement—enemies; national deposit—control by secretary of treasury; President Biddle; condition 1828—parent bank, branches.

(2) 1829-1832: antagonism of "Kitchen Cabinet" 1829—Portsmouth branch; correspondence of Biddle and Ingham; Jackson's messages—question of constitutionality and expediency of Bank; Congressional approval; negotiations Biddle and Jackson, 1831-1832.

(b) *Recharter, 1832.*

(1) Recharter bills: terms—similar to old; policy—question, friends of bank for; passage—vote.

(2) Veto: arguments—unsound, provisions unwise, bonus too small, monopoly.

(3) Political question: responsibility for; debate in Congress; speeches Benton, Webster, Clay, etc.; arguments for and against.

(c) *Removal of Government Deposits, Oct., 1833.*

(1) Authority: by law in secretary of treasury; assumed by Jackson—"Letter Read to Cabinet;" Duane's action—removal; Taney's appointment; action—reasons given to Congress.

(2) State banks: choice, conditions, criticisms.

(3) Censure: Clay's "Resolutions;" Jackson's "Protest;" constitutional questions.

(4) Expurgation: Benton's resolutions; character, success, 1837; Jackson's satisfaction.

(d) *Personnel:* Dane, N. Biddle, Ingham.

Questions: (1) When was the foundation for the unpopularity of the bank laid? (2) What probably made Jackson openly hostile to the bank? (3) Who was responsible for getting the bank into politics? (4) Was a bank such as that of 1816-1836 in harmony with our political institutions? (5) What were the important reasons assigned by Jackson against the bank in his veto? (6) Was he justified in forcing the removal of the surplus or de-

posits? (7) Did the Senate have a moral right to pass its resolution of censure against Jackson? (8) What were the chief arguments of Jackson's "protest?" (9) Was the resolution of "expunging" constitutional? (10) On the whole was Jackson's opposition to the bank justifiable?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nation, S., XIII, 220-228, 294-296; XIV, 136-140; XV, 112-122, Index; Schouler, III, 458-475; IV, 44-71; Adams, VIII, 435; IX, 17; McMaster, VI, 1-10; 131-134; 138-148; 183-223; Elson, 492-496; Young Am. Statesman, 500-510, 566-575, 591-622; Stanwood, Hist. of Presidency, 155-156, 178; Burgess, Middle Period, chs. IX, XII; Catteral, The Second National Bank, Index; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 393-421; W. Wilson, Hist. of Am. People, IV, Index; Von Holst, II, Index; Cambridge, Modern History, 383f; Bolles, Financial Hist., Index; Coman, Industrial History, 194-197; Dewey, Financial History, Index; Bogart, Economic Hist. of U. S., 219-222; Parton, Jackson, II, 372-433, 493-533; Sumner, Jackson, 224-322; Roosevelt, Benton, 102-140; Meigs, Benton, 183-246; Curtis, Webster, I, 470f; Hunt, Calhoun, 202-215; Von Holst, Calhoun, 109-110; Shephard, Van Buren, Index; Mason in Harvard Studies, the Veto Power, 32f; Sparks, Men Who Made the Nation, Index; Wise, Seven Decades; Tyler, Letters and Times of the Tylers, I, Index.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 337-339, 363-369; MacDonald, Select Documents, 207-213, 259-268, 289-304, 317-33; Documentary Source Book, 302-306, 320-329, 344-353, 355-361; Am. Hist. Leaflet, No. 24, Niles, Register, Vols. 45 and 42, Index; Richardson, Messages, II, Index; Williams, Statesman's Manual, II; Benton, View, Table of Contents; Adams, J. Q., Memoirs, VIII, IX; Clark and Hall, Legislative and Documentary Hist. of U. S. Bank, 609-732, 781; Elliot, Funding System, Index; Thayer's Cases, I, 271f; Boyd's Cases, Index; Story, Commentaries, II, Sec. 1759; Debates of Congress; Congressional Globe; Works of Calhoun, Webster, Van Buren, Tyler, etc.

(5) *Financial Conditions and Changes.*

(a) *Monetary.*

- (1) Coinage: ration coinage, 15 to 1 (1792-1834); effect; acts 1834-1838—ratio 16 to 1; result; purpose of change.
- (2) Bank paper: depreciation; suppression of small bills; purpose of Benton, etc.—laborer, etc.; question of issuance of paper money by banks.

(b) *Surplus revenue.*

- (1) Amount: Dec. 1836—\$41,000,000.
- (2) Origin: Tariff—high 1824-1832; little reduction; Clay and protectionists policy; increase revenue with prosperity; land sales—\$2,000,000 (1830), \$5,000,000 (1834), \$14,700,000 (1835), \$24,800,000 (1836); lessening government need—debt paid, 1835.

(3) Expenditure: proposals—internal improvements, distribution among states.

(c) *Management surplus.*

(1) Instrumentalities: National bank (1816-1833); State banks (1833-1840); Independent treasury, (1840-1841), (1846-1910).

(2) Distribution, 1837: terms act; uses by States; effects; criticism.

(d) *State Banking.*

(1) History: issuance currency—defective laws, depreciation; improvements—Mass., "Suffolk System," 1812; N. Y. "Free-banking Act," 1829, etc.

(2) "Pet-banks," 1833-1840: government depositories—condition; failure, 1837; government losses; outcome.

(e) *Personnel:* Berrien, Duff Green, F. M. Blair.

Questions: (1) Of what did the money in circulation consist about 1830? (2) What changes and purposes had Benton in mind in regard to money? (3) Why was there such a surplus revenue in 1836? (4) Upon whom shall the responsibility for the surplus be placed? (5) What proposals were made for disposing of the surplus? (6) What was finally done? (7) Was the measure one to be followed as a precedent? (8) From what source was all the paper money issued after 1836? (9) What were the "Pet-Banks?" (10) What systems had the U. S. used up to 1840 in depositing its surplus revenue?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., X, 139f; XIII, 157; XV, 91, 120, 130, 138, 143, 218-240, 254, 288, 299; XVI, 299f; XXVII, Index; Schouler, VI, 132-156, 170f; McMaster, VI, 183-223; Von Holst, II, 51, 68, 188, Index; Young, Am. Statesman, 591-630; Burgess, Middle Period, 278-288; Cambridge Mod. Hist., VII, 383f; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 401-421; Bourne, Distribution of Surplus Revenue; Bolles, Financial Hist., 156-175, 261-284, 303-359, 502-518; Coman, Indust. Hist., 45, 83, 151, 198; Dewey, Financial Hist., 18, 36, 70, 75, 144, 209, 219; Bogart, Economic Hist., 217-228; Parton, Jackson, III, 500f; Sumner, Jackson, 322-343; Roosevelt, Benton, 128-139; Meigs, Benton, 225-276; Taylor, Memoir of R. B. Taney, 191-248; Wise, Seven Decades, 134-141; Tyler, Letters and Times of the Tylers, I, 469-488; Clusky, Pd. Text Book.

Sources: McDonald, Select Documents, 289-304; Documentary Source Book, 344-353; Benton, View, I, Table of Contents; Elliot, Funding System, Index; Niles, Register, Vols. 45, 50, 51, 52, Index; Sargent, Public Men and Events, I, 253, 276; Statesman's Manual, II; Richardson, Messages, II, III; Works of Statesmen, Calhoun, Clay, Webster, Tyler, Adams, etc.

(6-7) DEMOCRATIC HOPEFULNESS; ITS EFFECTS.

(6) *Era of Speculation, 1833-1837.*

(a) *Causes.*

- (1) Point of view of masses: new political power—hope of new industrial conquests; energy, ambition, daring.
 - (2) Opening of West: appreciation of extent, richness in resources, future; appeal to imagination and to ambition.
 - (3) Transportation: opening up resources; canals—Erie, Susquehannah, etc.; Steam-boats—lessening cost carriage of goods; railroads—annihilation of distance.
 - (4) Capital: abundance—European, domestic; long era of peace; paper money—national, State banks; gold.
 - (5) Governmental policy: administrative measures—removal of deposits, distribution among State banks, "Specie Circular;" legislative measures—excessive revenue, tariff, land; deposit act, 1836.
 - (6) The governmental surplus: "deposit" with States; "easy come, easy go;" uses by States, effects—speculation, money market.
 - (7) Resultant: exuberant optimism.
- (b) *Extent.*
- (1) Prices: Cotton, 6c (1832), 12 to 20c (1836); real estate, N. Y. City, \$104,000,000 (1832), \$253,000,000 (1836).
 - (2) Banking: Capital, \$145,000,000 (1829), \$290,000,000 (1836); loans, \$200,000,000 (1829), \$525,000,000 (1836).
 - (3) Surplus, \$11,000,000 (1834), \$41,000,000 (Dec. 1836).
 - (4) Land sales, \$2,000,000 (1830), \$24,800,000 (1836).
 - (5) Cotton production, 1,000,000 bales (1830), 2,000,000 (1840).
 - (6) River steam tonnage, 63,000 (1830), 250,000 tons (1837).
- (c) *Result:* reaction.
- (d) *Personnel:* Silas Wright, W. C. Rives.

Questions: (1) Are years of extreme speculation as regular and periodical as are periods of crises? (2) What general causes of speculative periods can you find? (3) About how often has this mania of speculation existed in our history? (4) How far can you connect political measures and speculation? (5) What are the chief phenomena of periods of speculation? (6) What factors seem to have aided in making the crisis of 1837 very intense? (7) Can you find any means to determine when a speculative period may come? (8) Who was primarily responsible for the speculative era, 1834-1837?

(7) *The Crisis of 1837-1841.*(a) *Causes.*

- (1) General: see outline on crisis of 1819.
- (2) Time determining: European conditions; inflation with natural reaction; administrative and legislative measures of 1836—"specie circular," "deposit" law.
- (3) Intensity determining: excessive speculation; whole history of preceding years; bad economic laws—banking, money, etc.

(b) *Attitude of parties.*

- (1) Whig: *Reasons for crisis*—Jackson's measures, veto bank bill, removal of deposits, specie circular; *remedy*—change parties, legislation; restoration bank, reversal policies.
- (2) Democrats: *Reasons for crisis*: Bank's action—a conspiracy; economic causes (Van Buren)—speculation, extravagance; *remedy*—destruction bank; save, pay debts, wait on natural course of events, divorce nation and bank, establish independent treasury, (Van Buren).

(c) *Development.*

- (1) Conditions: decrease prices; stoppage sale western lands, failures—all sections.
- (2) Ups and downs: 1837 great depression, 1838-1839, partial recovery; 1840-1841, hard times.

(d) *Effects.*

- (1) Political: Whig victory 1840, second great democratic uprising; vote, 1,486,000, (1836), 2,411,000 (1840).
- (2) Independent treasury: separation nation and banks in management of good revenue.

(e) *Personnel*: Thomas Corwin, Thomas Ewing, H. A. Wise.

Questions: (1) Do you detect any relationship between speculation and crisis? (2) What causes for the crisis were assigned at the time? (3) What were the conditions of the country 1837-1841? (4) Were there fewer people, less resources, poorer crops, 1837-1841, than during the years 1834-1837? (5) How do you account for the change in conditions? (6) What political changes can you trace to the crisis of 1837? (7) What is the real distinction between a panic and a crisis? (8) Do you find the Democratic or the Whig suggested remedies for the crisis most convincing?

References, General: Am. Nat. S., XVI, 296-308; XXVI, 276-7; Schouler, IV, 170-183, 257-265, 276-294, 324-349; McMaster, VI, 183-224, 336-419; Von Holst, II, 172f; Burgess, Middle Period, 284-288; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 402-426; Young Am. States-

man, 677-688; Peck, Jacksonian Epoch, Index; McCullough, Men and Measures, Index; Bourne, Surplus Revenue; Jones, Economic Crisis; Burton, Crisis and Depressions; Dewey, Financial Hist., 223-246; Coman, Indus. Hist., 193-201; Bogart, Economic Hist. of U. S., 170-203, 217-238; McClure, Our Presidents, 59-60; Stanwood, Hist. of Presidency, 178-180; Parton, Jackson, III, 537-561; Sumner, Jackson, 322-326; Shepard, Van Buren, 282-325; Schurz, Clay, II, 114-199; Meigs, Benton, 246f; Roosevelt, Benton, 137-146; Tyler, Letters and Times of the Tylers, I, 582-584; Clusky, Pol. Text Book.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 379-387; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 561-574; Niles, Register, Vols. 50f; Sargent, Public Men and Events, I, 300f; II, 16, 76f; Benton View, II, 9; and Table of Contents; Statesman's Manual, II, III; Richardson, Messages, III; Collender, Economic Hist. of U. S., 348, 360, 404, 420; Works of Calhoun, Adams, Clay, Webster, Tyler, Fillmore, Buchanan etc.

(8-II) APPEARANCE OF SECTIONALISM, OF CONSTITUTIONAL REACTION.

(8-9) IN NULLIFICATION CONTROVERSY, 1828-1833.

(8) *Causes.*

(a) *Physical Geography.*

(1) Climate: diverse productions, varying interests; negro labor—profitableness.

(2) Rivers: Eastern coast parallel.

(b) *Slavery:* basis Southern life—industrial, social; a sectional interest; cotton and slavery unified by 1830; dominance of agriculture—cotton the staple.

(c) *Protection.*

(1) Early attitude: division sentiment, 1816; nationalistic tendency, mixed agriculture.

(2) Opposition to protection, 1824: upland cotton—unification interests; recognition of impossibility of manufacturing.

(3) Unconstitutionality, 1828-1833: teaching Cooper of S. C.; declining agriculture—competition of West; only method of resistance—failure of argument on expediency; theory—payment of duty by producer not consumer, hence by South.

(d) *Details of Tariffs, Injustice to South.*

(1) 1824: great debate—Webster vs. Clay; arguments; antagonistic interests; sectional tendency; protest of South, of New England.

(2) 1827-1828: the woolens interest; "tariff of abominations;" politics; the schedules on cottons, woolens and wool, on iron—effect on South; threats—first letter of Calhoun on nullification.

- (3) 1832: permanency of protection—a policy; S. C. action; sectionalization; becoming a party issue.

(e) *Personnel*: Hamilton, Ver Planck, B. F. Butler.

Questions: (1) What precedents for nullification in our early history? (2) When do we first find Calhoun an upholder of the doctrine? (3) What had been Calhoun's theory of interpretation of the Constitution, 1816? (4) How do you explain the change? (5) Over what question did Hayne first set forth the doctrine? (6) What issue occasioned the South Carolina nullification of 1832? (7) Was there any other question in the background? (8) By whom was the ordinance of nullification decreed? (9) How did Calhoun distinguish in theory between nullification and secession? (10) How did Hayne and Calhoun differ in their theory of nullification? (11) Which the more logical?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XIII, 231-243; XIV, 3-67, 236-45, 314-33; XV, 40, 295, 370, 420, 440; Schouler, III, 40, 295, 370, 420, 440; McMaster, V, 227-268; Von Holst, I, 79, 151, 398, 465; Burgess, Middle Period, 157, 170; Moore, Am. Cong., 123, 219, 234, 258; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 341-393; Young, Am. Statesman, chs. 30, 31, 39; Peck, Jacksonian Epoch; McCulloch, Men and Measures; Landon, Const. Hist., 152-160; Cambridge, Mod. Hist., VII, 355, 375; Jervey, Robt. Y. Hayne, 32-46, 106-114, 149-168, 211-235; Parton, Jackson, III, 433f; Sumner, Jackson, 194-218; Roosevelt, Benton, 79-87; Hunt, Calhoun, 57-75; Von Holst, Calhoun, 65-78; Pinckney, Calhoun, 35f; Curtis, Webster, I, Table of Contents; Lodge, Webster, 125-168; Tyler, Tylers, I, 381f; Wise, Seven Decades, 90-92, 119-133; Stanwood, Tariff Controversies, I, 111-360; Taussig, Hist. of Tariff, Table of Contents; Thompson, Hist. of Protective Tariff, Table of Contents; Dewey, Financial Hist., 161-185; Coman, Industrial Hist., 180-193; Clusky, Pol. Text Book.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 334-337, 369-376; Caldwell, Survey, 100f, 220-246; Caldwell, Some Am. Legislators, 57-123; MacDonald, Select Documents, 231-238; Niles, Register, Vols. 9-37, Index; Works of the Statesmen; Benton's, Abridgment of Debates, Vols. 5, 6, 7, 8; Annals of Cong. for 1816-28; Works, Webster (Lodge ed.), III, 94-148, 228-246; (National ed.), V, 94-148, 228-246; Clay (Mallory), I, 496-538; Taussig, State Papers on the Tariff, Table of Contents.

(9) *Development and Effects of Nullification.*

(a) *Basis.*

- (1) Historical: Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions 1798, Hartford Convention report, 1814.
- (2) Theory of Constitution: a compact of states; unity of sovereignty—in States.

(b) *Evolution of Doctrine.*

- (1) Under Hayne, 1830: Foot—resolution concerning public lands; great debate—Benton, anger of the West; Hayne's speech—Webster's reply; theory—a compact of States with the union.
- (2) Under Calhoun, 1828-1832: letters and expositions; a compact of State with State, the Union the resulting "agent" of the States; characteristics of remedy—complete, peaceful, immediate, affecting—a single state, one act, not otherwise changing rights and duties of State in the union.

(c) *Action South Carolina, 1832-1833.*

- (1) In legislature: struggle to secure two-thirds vote; failure, 1828-1832; success, 1832; call of convention; passage of laws to enforce replevin, oath, jury, and militia.
- (2) In Convention: ordinance, Nov. 24, 1832; vote—136-26; provisions; addresses; opposition by strong Union minority—Drayton, Poinsett, etc.

(d) *Action of the National Government.*

- (1) President Jackson: command to Gen. Scott; proclamation, Dec. 10—theory of Constitution, appeal; message, Jan. 16, 1833—recommendations—force.
- (2) Action Congress: passage "Force bill"—terms; Clay's compromise tariff bill—terms.

(e) *Outcome.*

- (1) South Carolina: affirms theory; withdraws ordinance.
- (2) Nation: compromise; death of nullification; further development of sectionalism; strict construction.

(d) *Personnel:* Drayton, McDuffie, A. Kendall.

Questions: (1) What theory of the constitution at the basis of nullification? (2) What proofs did Calhoun give to sustain his interpretation? (3) Were his arguments based on the conditions of 1787 or 1830? (4) Who were Calhoun's chief antagonists in the nullification controversy? (5) How do you explain the fact that all sections of the Union at some time had suggested nullification? (6) Why did it finally become a sectional theory? (7) How explain the fact that South Carolina was its special champion? (8) In what documents did Calhoun develop his theory? (9) Can you imagine any change in circumstances that would have made him remain a nationalist.

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XV, 67-112, 148-169; Schouler, III, 440-445; IV, 36-44, 54-70, 85-109; McMaster, VI, 11-69, 128-130, 135-138, 148-180; Von Holst, I, 467-505; Bur-

gess, Middle Period, 210-242; Andrews, III, 63-78; Sparks, the U. S., II, 49-64; Rhodes, Hist. of U. S., I, 40-53; Elson, 487-492; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., I, 421-437; Young, Am. Statesman, 576-587; Peck, Jacksonian Epoch, Index; McCullough, Men and Measures, Index; Moore, Am. Cong., 258-294; Landon, Const. Hist., 160-166; Thorpe, Const. Hist., II, 388-410; Cambridge, Mod. Hist., VII, 380f; Thatcher, Ideas that Have Influenced Civilization, see Index, Vol. X; Jervey, Robt. Y. Hayne, 235-363; Parton, Jackson, III, 433-485; Sumner, Jackson, 218-224, 277-291; Schurz, Clay, II, 1-24; Rogers, Clay, Index; Meigs, Benton, 246-253; Roosevelt, Benton, 87-102; Hunt, Calhoun, 75-198; Pinckney, Calhoun, 46-82; Von Holst, Calhoun, 78-108; Curtis, Webster, I, Index; Lodge, Webster, 168-199, 207-218; Tyler, Tylers, I, 431-469; Wise, Seven Decades, 119-134; Curtis, Buchanan, I, 183-185; Houston, Nullification in So. Ca.; Powell, Nullification; Sparks, Men Who Made the Nation, Index; Stephens, War Between the States, I, 389f, 419f; McElroy, Ky. in Nation's Hist., 399-407; Morris, Half Hours with Am. Hist., II, 317-328; Willoughby, Am. Const. System, 10-12, 54-56; Taussig, Hist. of Tariff, Table of Contents; Stanwood, Tariff Controversies, I, 349-409; Thompson, Hist. of Protective Tariff, Table of Contents; Dewey, Financial Hist., 181-189; Coman, Industrial Hist., 180-193f; Clusky, Pol. Text Book; Reed, Brother's War, 93-130.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 370-376; Caldwell, Some Am. Legislators, 57-123; Hart, Contemp., III, 536-540, 544-548; MacDonald, Select Documents, 239-259, 268-289; Documentary Source Book, 329-344; Preston, Documents, 299-304; Niles' Register, Vols. 37-46, Index; Cooper, Am. Pol., 25-79; Benton, View, I, Table of Contents; Statesman's Manual, II; Richardson, Messages II, 611-632, 640-656; Ames, State Documents on Federal Relations, 136-190; Johnston, Am. Orations, I, 233, 248, 303; Bryan, World's Best Orations, Index; Am. Patriotism, 223-279, 283-300; Elliott, Debates, III, 580-592; Am. Hist. Leaflet, No. 30; Callender, Economic Hist., Table of Contents; Benton, Debates, XII; Harding, Select Orations, 212-242; Clay's Works, V, 393; Calhoun's Works, II, 197, 262; VI, 1-209; Webster, Works, III, 270, 448, etc.; Madison, Works, IV, 395-425; Works of other Statesmen; Debates in Congress; Congressional Globe; U. S. Statutes at Large.

(10-II) IN SLAVERY ISSUES, 1830-1841.

(10) *Rise of Abolitionism, 1830-1840.*

(a) *Origin, two-fold basis.*

(1) Moral element: theory of democracy—equality; failure of “dying out” theory; inadequacy of colonization; spirit of reform—religious revivals, etc.; Foreign influence—England.

(2) Industrial competition: slave labor—“free trade,” free labor—“protection.”

(b) *Development.*

- (1) Organization: Boston Society—Garrison, 1830; Mass. Society, 1831; National society, 1833; membership—numbers, women; world meeting.
- (2) Leaders: forerunner—Benj. Lundy, character, travels, methods, results; Garrison, Lovejoy, W. Phillips; G. Smith, A. Tappan, etc.; work.
- (3) Spirit: radical—no compromise; world citizenship—no patriotism; condemnation constitution—criticism “fathers;” immediate emancipation, no compensation—attack on property rights.
- (4) Reception: mobs; suppression meetings; denial free speech; attack on negro churches and schools—Miss Crandall’s, Nashua, etc., murder Lovejoy—reaction of Wendall Phillips.

(c) *Decline.*

- (1) Quarrels: over woman question, political action; radicals—conservatives; political action—moral suasion.
- (2) “Issues:” free love, socialism, etc.

(d) *Effects.*

- (1) On South: harsher laws, intense feeling, solidification.
- (2) On North: discussion, arousing public opinion.
- (3) On Nation: development sectionalism.

(e) *Personnel:* W. L. Garrison, B. Lundy, W. Phillips.

Questions: (1) How do you explain the rise of abolitionism? (2) How did it differ from the former anti-slavery movement? (3) Explain its rapid development. (4) Why were the abolitionists met everywhere by mobs? (5) Who were some of the leading abolitionists? (6) What caused split in the societies? (7) When was the beginning of the political phase of the movement? (8) Was this movement unique or part of a larger whole?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XV, 49-256; Schouler, I, 204f; IV, 200-216; McMaster, V, 184-227; VI, 69-79, 178-182, 271-278; Von Holst, I, 409-431; II, 80-120; Burgess, Middle Period, 39-61, 242-251; Andrews, U. S., III, 149-179; Sparks, U. S., 89-110; Wilson, U. S., IV, Index; Rhodes, I, 1-95; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., II, 1-66; Schribner’s, IV, 316-349; Wilson, Slave Power, I, 18, 57, 165-307, 354-389, 403-422; Moore, Am. Cong., 333-336; Cambridge, Mod. Hist., VII, 386f; Landon, Const. Hist., 175-190; Collins, Domestic Slave Trade, Table of Contents; Williams, Negro Race, II, 37f; Smith, Liberty and Free Soil, 1-69; Smith, Pol. Hist. of Slavery, I, 33-53; Merriam, Negro and the Nation, 39f; Reed, Brother’s War, 35-93; Greely, Am. Conflict, I, 107f; Goodell, Slavery and Anti-Slavery, 353f; Johnson, in At-

lantic Monthly, 47, 558; Siebert, Underground Railroad, Table of Contents; Tremain, Slavery in D. of C.; Du Bois, Garrison and the Negro, Independent, 54, 1316-17; J. H. U. Studies, XI, XIV, XVII, Index; So. Hist. Assn. Reports, II, 87-130; Schurz, Clay, II, 70-96; Rogers, Clay, 145f; Meigs, Benton, 321-341; Roosevelt, Benton, 140-151; Pinckney, Calhoun, 151-155; Von Holst, Calhoun, 121-130; Hart, Chase, 28-103; Curtis, Webster, I, 525f; Johnson, Garrison, Table of Contents; Garrison's Garrison (4 vols.), Table of Contents; Martyn, Phillips, 105-346; Kennedy, Whittier, 58-170; Birney, Birney, Index; Julian, Giddings, 37-46; Holland, Fred Douglass, 32f; Clusky, Pol. Text Book, 1f, Index.

Sources: Caldwell, Survey, 123-152; Hart, Contemp., III, 574-619; MacDonald, Select Documents, 304-306; Documentary Source Book, 353-355; Niles' Register for 1828-1837, Index; Benton, View, I, Index; Ames, State Documents, 199-220; Johnston, Am. Orations, II, 102-122; Am. Hist. Leaflet, No. X; Sargent, Pub. Men and Events, Index; W. Phillips, Speeches; Whittier, Works, I, 125-242; Longfellow, Works, I, 87-97; Works and Speeches of Statesmen; Am. Quarterly Observer, I, II, III; U. of N. Am. Hist. Studies, V, Nos. 4 and 5; Benton, Debates; Debates in Congress, etc.; Contemporary products; Channing, Slavery, Jay, Inquiry, etc.; Jay, View Fed. Govt.; Reese, Letters to Jay; Lovejoy, Memoir of Lovejoy; Sunderland, Anti-Slavery Manual; F. Douglass, Autobiography; Thompson and Breckinridge, Am. Slavery; Hildrith, Despotism in Am.; Williams, South Vindicated; Stowe, A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin, etc.

(II) *Slavery Problems: National, Inter-State, International.*

(a) *Right of Petition, 1836-1844.*

- (1) Constitutional provisions: first amendment; police power of States.
- (2) In the Senate: basis—good will essential to national life; petitions a slander on South—result in ill-feeling; abolition, weapons—public press, public school—spirit growing; remedy—cessation of agitation; new doctrine, 1837—"slavery a good, a positive good," his six resolutions—union a compact, general government agent of States—protection by it against intermeddling.
- (3) In the House: "gag" resolutions—no reception of petitions; Adams' protest; long struggle; censure of Adams, 1837, 1842—his triumph; final repeal of "gag," 1844.
- (4) Influence: connection of right of petition and slavery; generation of Anti-Slavery sentiment; free speech; widening breach between North and South.

- (b) "*Incendiary publications*," 1836-37.
 - (1) Issues: right of abolitionists to send documents through mail—duty of U. S. to carry; right of State to prohibit.
 - (2) Plans: Jackson, national law; Calhoun State police power.
- (c) *Interstate relations*.
 - (1) Extradition: New York case—Gov. Seward vs. Gov. Wise (Va.); Isaac Gansey case; Van Zandt case, etc.
 - (2) Commerce: S. C. law against negro sailors.
- (d) *International Cases*.
 - (1) Fugitives: extradition—refusal by England—Mexico.
 - (2) Quintuple Treaty, 1841; Cass's protest—right of search.
 - (3) Slave trade: American vessels in West India ports; the Comet, Enterprise, the Creole, L'Amistad; international law problems at state.
- (e) *Personnel*: Atherton.

Questions: (1) What question arose over slavery petitions in Congress? (2) What theory held by Calhoun in regard to the reception of petitions? (3) What by J. Q. Adams? (4) What new position in regard to slavery developed by Calhoun as a result of this debate? (5) How did this doctrine change the whole aspect of the slavery question? (6) What were "incendiary documents?" (7) What two theories in regard to control of "incendiary publications?" (8) What question at issue over extradition between Gov. Seward and Gov. Wise? (9) Why did Cass object to the "Quintuple Treaty?" (10) What international law question arose over slave trade vessels driven by storm, etc., into the British West Indies?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XV, 256-296, 309-324; Schouler, IV, 216-224, 296-314, 340-344; McMaster, VI, 278-299, 383-387, 467-493, 510-513, 542, 561, 605, 625; Von Holst, II, 120-147, 219-330; Burgess, Middle Period, 251-277; Rhodes, I, 67-76; Young, Am. Statesman, 640-654, 723-727, 756-770; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., II, 47-65; Cambridge Mod. Hist., VII, 401f; Landon, Const. Hist., 190f; Scribners, IV, 316-349; Wilson, IV, Index; Wilson, Slave Power, I, 112, 134, 307-354, 389-403, 422-438; Foster, Diplomacy, 287f; Moore, Am. Cong., 336-340; Von Holst, Calhoun, 123-183; Pinckney, Calhoun, 155-213; Hunt, Calhoun, 227-238; Meigs, Benton, 333f; Roosevelt, Benton, 146-163; Curtis, Buchanan, I, 315-375; Schurz, Clay, II, 153-172; Curtis, Webster, I, 527f, 560f; Julian, Giddings, 51-76, 80-130; Morse, J. Q. Adams, 244-308; Johnson, Garrison, Table of Contents; Garrison's Garrison, Table of Contents; Tremaine, Slavery in D. of C.; Tyler's Tyler, I, 566-582; DuBois, Slave Trade, 151-162, Index; Spears,

Am. Slave Trade, 184-194; Lalor, Ency.; Smith, Pol. Hist. of Slavery, Index; Stephens, II, 62f; Seward's Seward, Table of Contents; Birney's Birney, Table of Contents; Clusky, Pol. Text Book.

Source: Caldwell, Survey, 152-171; Hart, Contemp., III, 619-637; MacDonald, Select Documents, 333-335; Niles' Register for 1834-1840; Benton, View, I, Table of Contents; Ames, State Documents, 220-229; Sargent, Public Men and Events, II, 51-56; Benton, Debates for Years, 1834ff; Debates of Congress; Congressional Globe, I; Works of Statesmen, Webster, Calhoun, Seward, Adams (Memoirs), Clay, Buchanan, etc.; [for other sources, see preceding outline].

(12) *Politics; Reorganization of Parties Under Spur of Democracy.*

(a) *Organization.*

- (1) Downfall Congressional caucus: reasons.
- (2) Conventions: precedent—States, N. Y., Pa.; Anti-Masons, 1830, National Republicans, Democratic Republicans, 1832; popular control.
- (3) Platforms: beginning 1832; officials agents of people—principles.
- (4) Rules: Democratic—2/3 majority to nominate.

(b) *Party Names.*

- (1) 1828-1832: National Republicans, Democrats, Anti-Masons.
- (2) 1834-1843: Democrats, Whigs.

(c) *Composition.*

- (1) Classes and interests: Whigs, Democrats.
- (2) Sections: strength each party.
- (3) Changes: 1830-1840; masses, leaders.

(d) *Campaigns.*

- (1) 1832: Clay vs. Jackson; issues, results.
- (2) 1836: Democrats—Van Buren; convention platform, vote—electoral, popular; Whig—"local favorites;" composition—Nat. Rep. Anti-Masons, Anti-Jackson Dem., pro-bank Dem., nullifiers—composite; candidates, vote and section strength each.
- (3) 1840: Democrats; Van Buren, platform, character, campaign, result; Whigs—convention, candidates—Clay, Scott, Harrison; defeat Clay—methods; Harrison and Tyler—past principles; character campaign—excitement; mass meetings, songs, etc.; effect of crisis; composition of party; result—significance; Liberty party—candidates, vote, meaning.

(e) *Personnel:* Gen. Scott, H. A. Wise, Badger, Granger.

Questions: (1) Previous to 1828 what method had generally been followed in nominating presidential candidates? (2) Why fall? (3) What new method took its place? (4) How do you explain the coming in of the convention system? (5) How the development of the political platform? (6) Why the reorganization of parties in 1834? (7) What name did Clay accept and what attempt to fasten on Jackson's followers? (8) Describe the composition of the Whig party. (9) How explain its victory in 1840?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XV, 183-200, 292-306; XVII, 43-51; Schouler, IV, 71-85, 197-199, 274, 294-297, 327-341, 359-373; McMaster, VI, 114-119, 127-131, 144-148, 224-228, 359-390, 550-594; Elson, 492, 501-505; Young, Am. Statesman, 676-678, 735-737; Stanwood, Hist. Presidency, 125-142, 151-206; McClure, Our Presidents, 281-289; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., II, 178-280; Sparks, U. S., 110f; W. Wilson, IV, Index; Von Holst, II, 76f, 330-406; Woodburn, Pol. Parties, 38-49; Smith, Liberty and Free Soil, 27-69; Beard, Readings, 94-96, 114-123; Hopkins, Pol. Parties, 50f; McKee, Nat. Conventions and Platforms, 34-47, Appendix; Macy, Pol. Parties, 1-74; Alexander, Hist. Pol. Parties in N. Y., I, 382-405; II, 1-15, 31-47; Shepard, Van Buren, 254-281; Bancroft, Van Buren, 176, 192; Orth, Five Am. Politicians, 148-164; Tyler's Tyler, I, 593-602; Sumner, Jackson, 374-379; Parton, Jackson, III, 594f; Julian, Giddings, 85-90; Curtis, Webster, II, Table of Contents; Lodge, Webster, 200-235; Schurz, 234-243, 308-310; Clusky, Pol. Text Book.

Sources: Sargent, Public Men and Events, II, 89-96, 105-114; Wise, Seven Decades, 153-183; Niles Register for 1836-1840; Benton, View, I, Table of Contents; Works of Calhoun, Clay, Webster, Adams, etc.; Statesman's Manual, II, 1137-1305.

Special: Am. Hist. Ass. Reports (1902), I, 365-374.

(13-14) *The Whigs in Power, 1841-1843: Final Struggle over Old Problems.*

(a) *Organization of the Administration.*

- (1) Cabinet: State (Webster), Treasury (Ewing), War (Bell), Navy, (Badger), Atty. Gen. (Crittenden), P. M. G. (Granger); ability, friendships, ideas and principles.
- (2) Civil service: professions party; Harrison's instructions; pressure and practice; result.
- (3) Relation of Harrison and Clay: breach-reasons; Tyler—accession; relations to Clay—earlier, present.

(b) *Outlook.*

- (1) Clay's program: his reading of election—compare with position in 1832; his measures—acceptability to Tyler wing; result.
- (2) Congress in special session: composition party strength; leaders; Clay or Tyler Congress.

- (c) *The Independent Treasury.*
 - (1) Organization: location sub-treasuries; working force.
 - (2) Repeal: Whig arguments—Clay, Webster, Ewing; union purse and sword—despotism; reply of Democrats.
 - (3) The surplus, 1841-1846: management.
- (d) *Distribution and Bankruptcy Bills.*
 - (1) Passage: union of friends of two measures.
 - (2) Distribution: general distribution; income from public lands; reasons—State debts, amount, origin, assumption, repudiation; Tyler's attitude.
 - (3) Bankruptcy: character of bill, object, history, repeal.
- (e) *The National Bank, 1841.*
 - (1) Recharter: in the Campaign of 1840; in Whig victory; Tyler's former position on bank.
 - (2) Bills: first bill—preparation of cabinet, treatment by Clay in Congress; passage; veto by Tyler; reasons—expediency, constitutionality; second bill—preparation; question of modification in Congress; veto; anger Whigs; resignation of Cabinet—question of veracity; breach in party.
 - (3) Failure: destruction entire Whig program; wisdom, result.
- (f) *The Tariff, 1842.*
 - (1) Tariff of 1833: gradual reduction; insufficient revenue; question of its modification—an ordinary law, a sectional compact.
 - (2) Bills: temporary revenue act, distribution clause, veto-justification; general revenue act; protective; distribution clause, veto; anger Whigs—threats; final bill; terms, protective, warehouse provision; prosperity under.
- (g) *Conclusion.*
 - (1) Result split: Democratic Control Congress, 1843.
 - (2) Financial measures: disappearance as dominant questions, till after Civil War.

Questions: (1) What States were represented in Harrison's cabinet? (2) Describe the relationship in 1840-41 between Harrison and Clay. (3) How did Clay interpret the results of the election of 1840? (4) What industrial questions in the Whig program? (5) What danger to the party with Tyler's accession to presidency? (6) What reason did the Whigs give for opposing the Sub-Treasury? (7) What would they put in its place? (8) How were their plans thwarted? (9) Was it well that the

Whigs failed—why answer? (10) How were distribution and bankruptcy related? (11) Would the assumption of State debts, 1842, have been a wise measure? (12) Over what question relating to the tariff did Tyler and the Whigs quarrel? (13) Causes of the changes in Tyler's cabinet. (14) Should Webster have resigned sooner than he did?

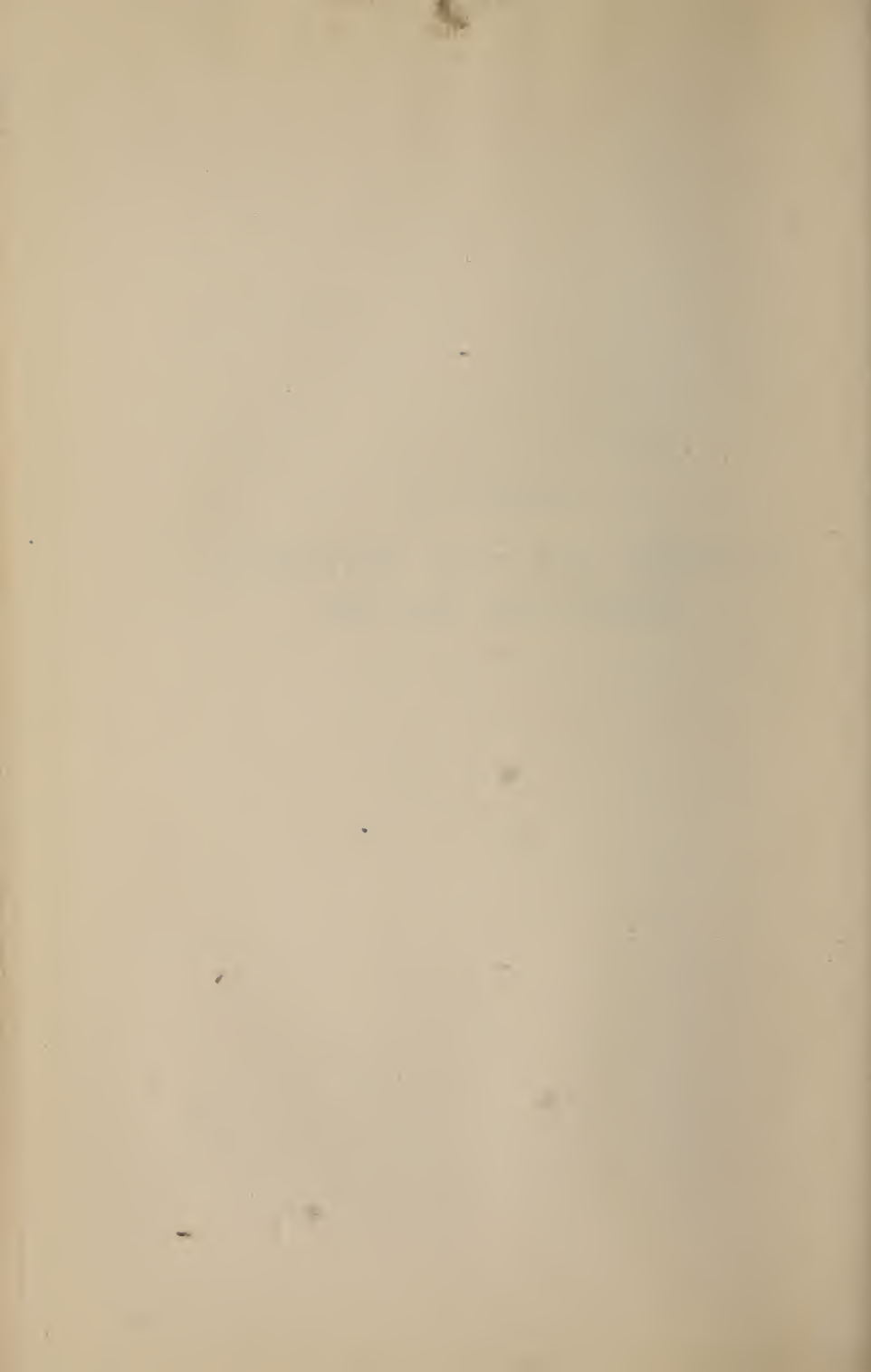
General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XVII, 51-67; Schouler, IV, 359-421; McMaster, VI, 593-637; VII, 1-49, 50-73; Von Holst, II, 406-548; Elson, 513-518; Burgess, Middle Period, 286-290; Stanwood, Presidency, 206-210; McClure, Our Presidents, 75-77; Wilson, Am. People, IV, Index; Young, Am. Statesman, 740-756; 770-786; Kinley, Indep. Treasury, 29-39; Bolles, Financial History, 434-449; Taussig, Hist. Tariff, 109-146; Dewey, Financial History, 235-246; Thompson, Hist. Protective Tariff, 340f; Stanwood, Tariff Controversies, II, 16-38; Tyler's Tyler, II, 1-90; Schurz, Clay, 199-229, Rogers, Clay, 322f; Colton-Reed-McKinley's Clay, II, 355f; Curtis, Buchanan, I, 458-515; Wise, Recollections, 8-22; Lodge, Webster, 233-246; Curtis, Webster, II, Table of Contents, Roosevelt, Benton, 210-230; Clusky, Pol. Text Book.

Sources: Richardson, Messages, IV, 2f, 34f; Benton, View, II, Table of Contents; Benton, Debates, XIV; Cong. Globe, (1841-1843); Statesman's Manual, II, 1279-1501; Niles Register, Vols. 59-68; Calhoun's Works, IV, etc.; Works of Clay, Webster, Adams, etc.; Wise, Seven Decades, Ch. X; Sargent, Public Men and Events, II, 136-140.

Special: Am. Hist. Ass. Reports (1894), 361-370; (1896) 137-174.

PART II

SLAVERY AND THE SECTIONAL
STRUGGLE, 1843-1861



CHAPTER VI.

STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF TERRITORY, 1843-1850.

GENERAL REFERENCES FOR THE PERIOD, 1843-1850.

Secondary: Am. Nation, XVII, 85-332; Schouler, IV, 430-550; V, 1-212; McMaster, VII, 286-614; VIII, Table Contents; Rhodes, I, 75-184; Von Holst, II, 500-714; III, 1-562; Wilson, Am. People, IV, Sparks, Hist. U. S., II, 118-172; Andrews, III, 179-215; Burgess, Middle Period, 289-364; Young, Am. Statesman, 705-937; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., II, 66-126; Stanwood, Hist. of Presidency, 203-243; McClure, Our Presidents, 75-114; Smith, Pol. Hist. Slavery, I, 53-129; Merriam, Negro and the Nation; Greeley, Am. Conflict, I, 147-209; Wilson, Slave Power, I, 587-651, II, 1-330; Williams, Negro Race, II, 31-96; Dixon, Missouri Comp. Repealed, 154-385; Bruce, Expansion, 78-165; Johnston, Expansion, 160-198; Sparks, Expansion, 301-350; Austin, 165-178; Macy, Pol. Parties, 93-130; Smith, Liberty and Free Soil Parties, 69-225; Woodburn, Pol. Parties, 57-79; Tyler's Taney, II, 244-490; Birney's Birney, 332f; Garrison's Garrison, III, 1-312; Frothingham, G. Smith, 160-252; Schurz, Clay, II, 229-373; Rogers, Clay, 333-365; Lodge, Webster, 257-323; Curtis, Webster, II, 206-465; Meigs, Benton, 339-401; Roosevelt, Benton, 257-301; Johnson, Douglas, 68-190; Gardner, Douglas, 19-47; Von Holst, Calhoun, 221-351; Hunt, Calhoun, 258-321; Pinckney, Calhoun, 112-243; Shepherd, Van Buren, 398-448; McLaughlin, Cass, 191-292; Young, Cass, 209-409; Hart, Chase, 54-129; Schuckers, Chase, 81-127; Warden, Chase, 309-335; Curtis, Buchanan, I, 515-625; II, 1-17; Adams, C. F. Adams, 42-102; Dodd, Davis, 70-129; Mrs. Davis, Davis, I, 181-465; Baree, Fillmore, 289-326.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 398-416; Caldwell, Terr. Development, 129-200; Caldwell, Some Am. Legislators; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 637-655; IV, 11-58; Johnston, Am. Orations, II; Peabody, Am. Patriotism, 449-489; MacDonald, Doc. Source Book, 368-394; MacDonald, Sel. Documents, 343-390; McKee, Convs. and Platforms, 47-73; Richardson, Messages, IV; Williams and Lossing, Statesman's Manual, II and III; Congr. Globe, I to XIX; Benton's Abridgment of Debates, XIV to XVI; Writings of Tyler, Clay, Webster, J. Q. Adams, Calhoun, Benton, Buchanan, Chase, Fillmore, Sargent, Wise, Garrison; Niles Register.

II. SLAVERY AND THE SECTIONAL STRUGGLE, 1843-1861.

A. STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF TERRITORY, 1843-1850.

(1) *Leaders.*

(a) *John Tyler, 1790-1862.*

- (1) Early years: family, environment, education, lawyer; character.
- (2) A Virginia statesman: legislator, orator, leader; Democrat—breach in party.
- (3) In national politics: member House, Senate; Vice-President, President; qualities as official.
- (4) Principles: moral; political—interpretation of constitution, nullification, bank, tariff, internal improvements, distribution.

(b) *James Knox Polk, 1795-1849.*

- (1) Early life: birthplace, environment, education.
- (2) Politician: in Tenn.—member of legislature, governor; in Nation—member House—Speaker; President.
- (3) Characteristics and principles: physical, intellectual, moral; firmness, persistence; political—party, constitutional; measures.

(c) *Lewis Cass, 1782-1866.*

- (1) Early years: boyhood in N. H.; surroundings, education; removal to Ohio; lawyer, general in war of 1812; governor of Michigan, 1813-1831.
- (2) National career: secretary of war, minister to France, senator, secretary of state; qualities, party allegiance, party methods and principles; candidate for president, defeat.
- (3) Qualities: personal, intellectual, moral; his interests, writings on the Indians, scholarship; public speaker, leader and organizer.

Questions: How do the men chosen as representative of this period compare in ability with those of the two preceding periods? (2) Why have these men been chosen—were they the greatest of their time? (3) Compare the three men in physical appearance. (4) Were they men of idealism or practical politics? (5) Which one of the three produced results of the most far reaching character? (6) How did they compare in education? (7) What were the most marked qualities of each? (8) What can be said of their personal and moral worth?

References: (a) "John Tyler:" Secondary—L. S. Tyler's *Letters and Times of the Tylers* (see index to Vol. II, under "John Tyler"); Fiske, *Hist. Essays*, I, 327-361; Schouler, IV, 367-372, 491-494; Jameson, *Dict. Am. Hist.*, II, 312-313.

Sources: Tyler's Letters, in L. G. Tyler's Letters and Times of the Tylers, II; Wise, Thirteen Presidents, 3-32; Wise, Seven Decades, 20-34, 237-240, 283-304, 313-320; Richardson, Messages, IV, 35-367, or Statesman's Manual, II; Niles Register, Vols. 58 to 68, index under "Tyler" or "Presidency."

(b) "James K. Polk." Secondary—Schouler, Hist. Briefs, 121-159; Schouler, IV, 496-498; Am. Nat. XVII, 131; McMaster, VII, 356-357; Jameson, Dict. Am. Hist., II, 107-108; Elson, 523.

Sources: Richardson, Messages, IV, or Statesman's Manual, II.

(c) "Cass." Secondary: Lives, McLaughlin, Young; Jameson, Dict. Am. Hist., I, 127; Am. Nat. Series, Vol. 27, index; Rhodes, McMaster, Schouler and Von Holst, index; Stanwood, Hist. of Presidency, 226-243; McClure, Our Presidents, 94-113; Cooley, Michigan, index; Campbell, Pol. Hist. Mich., index; Poole, Index for Mag. Articles.

(2) *Annexation of Texas, 1843-1845.*

(a) *Tyler's dominant issue, 1843-1845.*

(1) Reorganization cabinet: Webster's resignation; Upsher, Calhoun, Secretaries of State; Democratic.

(2) Letters: Adams' letter of warning; Jackson's, for annexation—use.

(b) *Treaty, 1844.*

(1) Negotiations: Upsher, protection of Texas during pendency of Treaty; deaths Upsher, Gilmer, Calhoun; correspondence with Packenham; cry annex to save from England; slavery at stake; the Union in danger.

(2) Treaty: terms—territory, debt, lands, etc.; rejection by Senate; reasons—politics, war Mexico, fear; vote—geographical distribution, party.

(c) *Annexation by "Joint Resolution," 1845.*

(1) Significance: of the term, of the method.

(2) Development: presidential suggestion; resolution in Congress; terms—Statehood, lands, debt, number of States; gov't. property; opposition by Benton, Dix, etc.; reasons—expediency, constitutionality; the Walker amendment; bitter debate; vote-sections, party; constitutional issues—right to annex a "State;" method of annexation.

(3) Reasons for Annexation: "manifest destiny," restore "balance of power;" Gulf Mexico; slavery.

(d) *A State, Dec. 1845.*

(1) Action Tyler; rejection treaty method; acceptance joint resolution; question of violation of promise to Benton, Dix, etc.

- (2) Action Texas: acceptance by legislature, convention and people of terms of joint resolution.

(e) *Personnel*: Upsher, Gilmer, R. M. Johnson.

Questions: (1) What change in American history began with Tyler's Texas annexation scheme? (2) What seems to have been his motives? (3) Where was the centre of opposition—Why? (4) How did the people of the West stand on Annexation—Why? (5) Reasons for the defeat of the treaty of annexation, 1844. (6) In what manner was annexation accomplished? (7) What question of veracity between Tyler and Benton, Dix, etc.? (8) What were the principal terms in the resolution of annexation? (9) What the essential differences between the treaty of 1844, and the resolution of 1845? (10) What steps taken by Texas before admission?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. XVII, 85-122, 141-156; Schouler, IV, 430-470, 480-494, 518; McMaster, VII, 303-331, 391-406, 429-432; Von Holst, II, 500-657, 677, 701-714, III, 61-78; Burgess, Middle Period, 289-310, 316-323; Garrison, Texas, 255-268; Wilson, Slave Power, I, 587-651; Young, Am. Statesman, 786-799, 816-830; Greeley, Am. Conflict, I, 147-177; Rhodes, I, 75-85; Sparks, U. S., II, 118-125; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., II, 66-73; Smith, Pol. Hist. Slavery, I, 73-80; Wilson, Am. People, IV; William's Houston, 249-295; Tyler's Tyler, II, 250-302, 325, 359-370; Meigs' Benton, 339-359; Garrison's Garrison, III, 134-149; Von Holst's Calhoun, 220-259; Hunt's Calhoun, 258-270; Pinckney's Calhoun, 112-125; Curtis's Webster, II, 206-255; Johnson's Douglas, 68-90; Hamlin's Hamlin, 99-112; Sanborn's S. G. Howe, 191-210; Stovall's Toombs, 43-55.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 399-405; Caldwell, Terr. Development, 131-151; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 649-655; MacDonald, Doc. Source Book, 369-370; MacDonald, Select Documents, 344-346; Benton, View, II, 581-590, 599-600, 619-624, 631-639; Jameson, Corresp. of Calhoun (Am. Hist. Ass'n. Rept. for 1899, vol. II), 578-673, 938-1064; J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, XI, 344-370, XII, 13-14, 138-174, 201-202, 222-223; McIntyre, Nat'l ed. Webster's Works, IX, 55-60, XVI, 429-438; Webster, Works of Webster, V, 55-59; Moore, Works of Buchanan, VI, 85-345; Sumner's Works (ed. 1875), I, 151-159; Sargent, Men and Events, II, 200-264; Cleveland's Stephens, 280-301; Giddings, Rebellion, 222-237; Giddings, Speeches, 97-147; Richardson, Messages, IV, 307-416; Benton, Debates, XV, 142-146, 149-150, 154, 174-233, 267-269, 288-300; Congr. Globe, appendixes to vols. XIII, XIV and XV; Niles Register, vols. 65, 67, 68, 69; Democratic Review, vols. 14, 16 and 17; Am. Whig Review, vols. 1 and 2.

Special: Am. Hist. Ass. Reports (1884) 72-96.

(3) *Politics; the Election of 1844.*

(a) *Dominant Issues.*

- (1) Territorial: reannexation of Texas, reoccupation of Oregon.

- (2) Economic: tariff, independent treasury.
- (b) *Parties.*
 - (1) Liberty: candidates, Birney and Morris; principles.
 - (2) Whig: candidates, Clay and Frelinghuysen; convention unanimous; platform—principles, omissions.
 - (3) Democratic: *Tyler wing*, convention—membership; nomination Tyler, platform—annexation Texas; withdrawal; *regular convention*, candidates, Cass, Calhoun, Buchanan, Van Buren—defeat last—means, significance—Texas question; nominees—Polk and Dallas; “dark horses;” platform—principles.
 - (4) Campaign: intense—comparison with 1840; Democratic double dealing on tariff—Polk’s Kane letter: Clay’s letters of explanation on Texas—effects; attitude of Webster.
- (c) *Result.*
 - (1) Vote: electoral—Polk and Dallas, 170; Clay and Frelinghuysen, 105; popular—Polk, 1,337,000; Clay, 1,299,000; Birney, 62,300; significance of last vote—in N. Y., on final result, in nation’s history.
 - (2) Annexation of Texas: settlement of Oregon question.
- (d) *Personnel:* W. L. Marcy, J. G. Birney, J. R. Giddings.

Questions: (1) How did the Texas question affect the nomination for president in the Democratic party? (2) What was the trend of the letters written by Clay and Van Buren on the Texas question? (3) Why did Tyler withdraw as a candidate, 1844? (4) What issue seems to have controlled the campaign? (5) Did Clay make any mistake in the conduct of his campaign? (6) What questions were coupled in the Democratic platform?—significance. (7) What was Polk’s Kane letter? (8) What party finally determined the outcome of the campaign? (9) How did this election compare with that of 1840—in enthusiasm, in importance?

General References, Secondary: Stanwood, *Presidency*, 206-225; McClure, *Our Presidents*, 75-93; *Am. Nat.*, XVII, 123-140; Schouler, IV, 471-480; McMaster, VII, 332-390; Von Holst, II, 657-701; T. C. Smith, *Liberty and Free Soil Parties*, 69-84; Young, *Am. Statesmen*, 799-814; Schurz’s *Clay*, II, 229-268; Colton’s *Clay*, II, 423-456; III, 13-36; Tyler’s *Tyler*, II, 303-359; Roosevelt’s *Benton*, 257-280; Shepard’s *Van Buren*, 398-414; Parton’s *Jackson*, III, 653-667; McLaughlin’s *Cass*, 197-224; Young’s *Cass*, 218-225.

Source: McKee, Convs. and Platforms, 47-57; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 646-649; Benton, View, II, 591-599, 600-619, 625-631; Julian's Recollections, 30-49; Baker, Seward's Works, III, 239-274; Colton, Works of Clay, IV, 483-518; McIntyre, Nat'l. ed. Webster's Works, III, 217-294, XVI, 417-428; XVIII, 187-204; Van Tyne, Letters of Webster, 289-301; Moore, Works of Buchanan, VI, 1-74; Severance, Fillmore Papers, I, 403-406; Niles Register, vols. 66 and 67; Democratic Review, vols. 14 and 15.

(4) *Administration of President Polk, 1845-1849.*

(a) *Fundamental purposes: Outline of, in his Diary.*

(1) Territorial: settle Texas boundary dispute, acquire California and end the Oregon controversy.

(2) Economic: reestablish independent treasury, and secure passage of low tariff law.

(b) *Organization.*

(1) His own power: great worker; skillful organizer.

(2) Cabinet: State (Buchanan), Treasury (Walker), War (Marcy), Navy (Bancroft), Atty. Gen. (Mason), P. M. Gen. (Johnson): ability, dependence on president, measures, experience.

(c) *Measures.*

(1) Civil service: spoils system—Polk's hatred of it.

(2) Independent treasury: unsatisfactory conditions of existing method of handling revenue; restoration of sub-treasury: vote—party.

(3) Tariff: Walker's famous report; Dec., 1845; his classification of imports, rates of duty; ad valorem vs. specific duties; contest and debate—Democrats vs. Whigs; vote—sections, party; dilemma of Vice-President Dallas.

(d) *Oregon.*

(1) Early history: claimants; elimination of Spain and Russia; joint occupancy—England and U. S. 1818; renewal, 1828—terms.

(2) Attempts at settlement: English claims—Columbia river; American, 54° 40'; offers of compromise on Columbia river, on 49°, etc.—rejection of all; proposal to end joint occupancy, 1845; Polk's claim—the "whole of Oregon," its meaning; English offer of 49°—Senate's advice; acceptance; anger of West—charge South with "Punic faith."

- (3) Result: peace with Gt. Britain; settlement of a difficult question; limitation of future free territory.

(e) *Personnel*: Geo. Bancroft, R. J. Walker, J. G. Mason.

Questions: (1) What two presidents in our history recorded their plans in diaries? (2) What impression of Polk does one receive from his diary? (3) what measures did Polk determine to make the administrative question of his presidency? (4) Did he succeed? (5) What the effect on his party? (6) How did the tariff of 1846 differ from previous tariffs? (7) What change in handling the government revenues permanently inaugurated at this time? (8) What was the territorial history of Oregon? (9) What relation, if any, between the Texas and the Oregon questions? (10) How was the Oregon controversy finally settled?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat., XVII, 157-187; Schouler, IV, 495-517; McMaster, VII, 406-429; Von Holst, III, 1-60, 116-197, 216-224; Burgess, Middle Period, 311-317, 324-326; Young, Am. Statesman, 831-832, 849-874; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., II, 73-80; Bruce, Expansion, 106-135; Johnson, Expansion, 180-195; Sparks, Expansion, 301-309; H. H. Bancroft, Oregon, II; Dewey, Financial Hist., 249-255; Bolles, Financial Hist., 449-453; Kinley, Indep. Treasury, 35-50; Stanwood, Tariff, II, 69-83; Tausig, Tariff, 114; Thompson, Tariff, 366-408; Curtis's Buchanan, I, 546-578; Von Holst's Calhoun, 260-271; Hunt's Calhoun, 270-287; Pinckney's Calhoun, 127-139; Roosevelt's Benton, 230-237, 246-256; Meigs's Benton, 276-320; Hamlin's Hamlin, 121-138; Howe's Bancroft, I, 262-289.

Special: (a) Schouler, Polk's Diary and Administration (Schouler, Hist. Briefs, 121-159).

Sources: Caldwell and Persinger, 405-407; Caldwell, Terr. Development, 190-199; MacDonald, Doc. Source Book, 373-377; MacDonald, Select Documents, 356-365; Jameson, Corresp. of Calhoun (Am. Hist. Assn. Rept. for 1899, vol. II), 674-705, 1065-1096; Benton, View, II, 649-677; Cralle, Speeches of Calhoun, IV, 258-289; McIntyre, Nat'l. ed. Webster's Works, IX, 60-252; XIII, 310-324; XIV, 295-314; Webster, Works of Webster, V, 60-252; Sargent, Men and Events, II, 264-291; Giddings, Rebellion, 246-250; Dix, Speeches, I, 1-59; Giddings, Speeches, 148-163; Niles Register, vols. 68, 69 and 70; Democratic Review, vols. 15 and 16; Am. Whig Review, vols. 2 and 3; Richardson, Messages, IV, 373-469; Benton, Debates, XV, 249-250, 265-654; Congr. Globe, appendix to vol. XV.

(5) *The Mexican War, 1846-1848; Territorial Results.*

(a) *Causes.*

(1) American "claims:" origin—unsettled condition of Mexican government; treaty 1840—arbitration, decision of commission; Mexican failure to pay judgment; character of "claims"—justice.

- (2) Annexation of Texas: Mexican territory; unfriendly attitude on part of U. S.
- (3) Rejection of Am. Minister, Slidell: question of his wisdom; aggressive action of Polk; spirit of territorial acquisition.
- (4) Texas boundary: Claims—Mexico, Neucos. U. S., Rio Grande; Taylor at Rio Grande—attack.
- (b) *The Conflict, 1846-1847.*
 - (1) Taylor on the Rio Grande: battles—victories, territorial possession.
 - (2) Fremont in California: "Bear Flag" Republic; policy of Larkin; seizure of the State.
 - (3) Kearny in New Mexico; Santa Fé proclamation—government; later repudiation; possession.
 - (4) Scott's march on City of Mexico: capture Santa Cruz; march into interior—victories, quarrel, negotiations, recall.
- (c) *Peace, 1848.*
 - (1) Negotiations: offers, rejection by Trist; recall of Trist; renewed offer—acceptance by Trist.
 - (2) Problems: acceptance of Trist treaty; prolongation of war; acquisition of all of Mexico; acceptance treaty.
 - (3) The Treaty: terms, payment to Mexico; territorial acquisition, boundary.
- (d) *Results.*
 - (1) Successful war: Whig generals, Democratic administration—unpopular; defeat in election, 1848.
 - (2) Expansion: Pacific Ocean boundary; new problems.
- (e) *Personnel:* Slidell, D. Wilmot.

Questions: Was the Mexican war a necessary consequence of the annexation of Texas? (2) Did Slidell press recognition unnecessarily? (3) Had President Polk the right to order Taylor to advance to the Rio Grande? (4) Did Taylor keep within the bounds of strict neutrality? (5) What expeditions were made against Mexico? (6) Who won reputations during the war? (7) What quarrels marred the campaigns? (8) What was the politics of the leading generals? (9) What position was Trist in when he made the treaty of Peace? (10) What were the terms of the treaty? (11) Why did Polk decide to accept the treaty?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat., XVII, 188-253; Schouler, IV, 521-550, V, 1-91; McMaster, VII, 429-480, 496-527; Von Holst, III, 79-115, 198-215, 224-300, 328-347; Burgess, Middle Period, 327-339; Young, Am. Statesman, 833-848; Elson, U. S.,

525-535; Andrews, U. S., III, 182-201; Sparks, U. S., II, 126-148; Sparks, Expansion, 320-335; Bruce, Expansion, 136-165; H. H. Bancroft, California, II; Royce, California, 48-150; Wilson, Am. People, IV, 117-141; Ripley, War with Mexico, I and II; Mansfield, Mex. War; Thompson, War of 1812 and Mex. War, 509-656; Jay, Review Mex. War; Livermore, Mex. War Reviewed; Owen, Justice of Mex. War; Curtis's Buchanan, I, 579-618; Howard's Taylor, 79-301; Wright's Scott, 154-288; Von Holst's Calhoun, 273-278; Pinckney's Calhoun, 140-150; Dodd's Davis, 77-103; Johnson's Douglas, 105-126; Sheahan's Douglas, 72-90; Young's Cass, 302-318, 328-333; Meigs's Benton, 358-368; Seward's Seward, II, 35-59; Colton's Clay, III, 58-87; Pierce's Sumner, III, 98-157; Storey's Sumner, 43-56; Grimke's Sumner, 163-192; Dawes's Sumner, 44-54; Hamlin's Hamlin, 139-154; Nason's Wilson, 65-87; Adams's C. F. Adams, 50-80; Dix's Dix, I, 204-222; Sanborn's S. S. Howe, 211-227; Crittenden's Crittenden, I, 241-296; Johnston and Browne's Stephens, 200-223; Stovall's Toombs, 56-66; Claiborne's Quitman, I, 227-400.

Special: (b) Bancroft, How California was Secured (Mag. Am. Hist., XVIII, 194-202; (c) Bourne, "All of Mexico" Movement (Am. Hist. Rev., V, 491-502, or Am. Hist. Assn. Rept. for 1899, I, 155-169).

Source: Caldwell, Terr. Development, 155-175; Hart, Contemporaries, IV, 11-34; MacDonald, Doc. Source Book, 371, 378-382; MacDonald, Select Documents, 346-353, 366-372; Benton, View, II, 639-649, 679-694, 709-711; Scott, Autobiography, I, 381-584; Cralle, Speeches of Calhoun, IV, 396-449; Jameson, Corresp. of Calhoun (Am. Hist. Assn. Rept. for 1899, vol. II), 689-757, 1096-1133; Carr's Douglas, 156-167; Moore, Works of Buchanan, VI, 477-509, VII, VIII, 1-118; McIntyre, Nat'l. ed. Webster's Works, IX, 151-160, 253-270, XIII, 330-365; Webster, Webster's Works, V, 151-160, 253-301; Sumner, Works of Sumner, I, 317-382; Morrow, Speeches of Corwin, 264-314; Dix, Speeches, I, 198-246; Weed, Autobiography, 570-575; Sargent, Men and Events, II, 291-309, 325-334; Giddings, Rebellion, 250-299; Giddings, Speeches, 177-201, 250-288, 319-332; Mrs. Davis's Davis, I, 268-360; Cleveland, Speeches of Stephens, 302-333; Richardson, Messages, IV; Benton, Debates, XV, 484-651, XVI, 4-40; Congr. Globe, appendices to vols. 16, 17 and 18; Niles Register, vols. 70 to 74; Am. Whig Review, vols. 3 to 7; Democratic Review, vols. 18 to 22.

(6) *Territorial Problems: 1846-1849.*

(a) *Acquisition.*

- (1) Right: under what clause of constitution? policy.
- (2) Status: under the Constitution; under the control of Congress? laws—Mexican, American?

(b) *Control.*

- (1) Theories: Congressional control—The "Wilmot Proviso;" terms; failure 1846; renewal

1847, bitter debate, threats, defeat in Senate; "Squatter Sovereignty"—Cass, Dickinson, Douglas; meaning; acceptance by Democrats under name "Non-intervention"—varying interpretations; "Property Rights"—Calhoun, Davis, Toombs; meaning, strength.

- (2) *Attempts at Compromise, 1848-1849*: Extension line $36^{\circ} 30'$ to Pacific—Davis and South, rejection; Douglas—second rejection; leave question to Supreme Court—Clayton and committee, significance, failure; Presidential government—"extension of all applicable laws," cowardly shifting of responsibility; organize all territory into States at once.
- (c) *Governments, 1846-1849*.
 - (1) Oregon: 1846-1847: formation of unauthorized free government, 1842; Congressional plans—North, free territory; South, free because north of line $36^{\circ} 30'$ rejection; final action, 1848; application of ordinance of 1787.
 - (2) California and New Mexico: various proposals—no action; people no legal governments; organization under "mining camp" law.
- (d) *Results*.
 - (1) More vital study of Constitution: new theories.
 - (2) Sectionalism: rapid development, bitter feeling, threats of secession in air.
- (e) *Personnel*: J. M. Clayton, T. Weed, J. A. Dix, Preston King.

Questions: (1) What desires in regard to acquisition of territory were expressed, 1847-1848? (2) How do you account for Calhoun's opposition to any annexation? (3) How had he stood in regard to annexation of Texas? (4) What new theories in regard to control of territory were worked out during the years 1846-1850? (5) What proposals of compromise made by the South? (6) What by the border State men? (7) Did the Northern Anti-slavery men make any offers of compromise? (8) Should any compromise offer have been accepted? (9) What question arose in regard to the organization of Oregon? (10) Why was California left so long without any government?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. XVII, 254-268, 294-314; Schouler, IV, 543-545, V, 91-99, 114-128; McMaster, VII, 480-496; 526-534; Von Holst, III, 300-327, 348-357, 385-397, 400-401, 404-455; Burgess, Middle Period, 334-336, 340-352; Young, Am. Statesman, 884-891; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., II, 82-95; Wilson, Slave Power, II, 15-49, 87-105, 114-128, 190-207; T. C.

Smith, Liberty and Free Soil Parties, 105-120; Von Holst's Calhoun, 278-333; Hunt's Calhoun, 290-297; Roosevelt's Benton, 281-291; Meigs's Benton, 368-383; McLaughlin's Cass, 232-235; Young's Cass, 318-328; Dodd's Davis, 104-110; Johnson's Douglas, 127-142; Hamlin's Hamlin, 155-190.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 407-412; Caldwell, Terr. Development, 179-190; Hart, Contemporaries, IV, 35-43; Ames, State Documents, 241-252; Benton, View, II, 694-700, 711-715, 729-736; Greeley, Am. Conflict, I, 185-197; Foote, Rebellion, 67-98; Cralle, Speeches of Calhoun, IV, 303-395, 479-541; Jameson, Corresp. of Calhoun (Am. Hist. Assn. Rept. for 1899, vol. II), 747-766, 1097-1108; McIntyre, Nat'l. ed. Webster's Works, X, 34-44, XIV, 317-335; Webster, Works of Webster, V, 302-312; Dix, Speeches, I, 179-197, 309-382, 413-443; Morrow, Speeches of Corwin, 315-358; Cleveland, Speeches of Stephens, 320-351; Sargent, Men and Events, II, 309-324, 336-341; Giddings, Speeches, 202-220; Niles Register, vols. 75 to 76; Am. Whig Review, vols. 4 to 9; Democratic Review, vols. 18 to 24; Congr. Globe, appendixes to vols. 16 to 19.

Special: Am. Hist. Ass. Reports (1891), 131-160.

(7) *Election of 1848.*

(a) *Dominant Questions.*

- (1) Mexican war: its justice, its problems.
- (2) Control territories: theories, practice.
- (3) Slavery: active or passive attitude.

(b) *Parties.*

- (1) Democrats: candidates before convention; Buchanan, Douglas, Marcy, Cass; split in N. Y.—"Barnburners;" reformers, for "Wilmot Proviso;" "Hunkers"—regulars, against Proviso; action convention—refusal both to enter convention; platform—just war with Mexico, non-intervention, slavery, local matter; nominees—Cass and Butler.
- (2) Free-Soilers—composition: nominees—Van Buren and C. F. Adams; platform—"free soil, free speech, free labor, free men."
- (3) Whigs: candidates, Z. Taylor—popular war hero; Scott, Clay; disappointment Clay—ill-treatment; nominees—Taylor and Fillmore; platform—none; principles—traditional, constitution, "honest Zac. Taylor."

(c) *Campaign.*

- (1) Uninteresting: Clay in his tent; Webster, luke-warm.

(d) *Result.*

- (1) Vote: states—Taylor, 8 slave, 7 free; Cass, 7 slave, 8 free; electoral, Taylor 163; Cass 127; popular, Taylor 1,360,000; Cass, 1,220,000; Van Buren, 291,000.

(2) Uncertainty: party of "opportunity" in power.

(e) *Personnel*: Yancey, H. Wilson, M. Van Buren.

Questions: (1) What questions were dominant in politics 1846-1850? (2) How had the Democratic party divided in New York? (3) What attitude did the two leading parties take in regard to the justness of the Mexican war? (4) Should Clay have been nominated in 1848? (5) Why was Taylor nominated by the Whigs? (6) Was the nomination of Van Buren as the Free-Soil candidate logical? (7) What gave the victory to the Whigs? (8) Is it common for a party carrying on a successful war to be defeated?

General References, Secondary: Stanwood, *Hist. Presidency*, 226-243; McClure, *Our Presidents*, 94-114; *Am. Nat.*, XVII, 269-284; T. C. Smith, *Liberty and Free Soil Parties*, 138-159; McMaster, VII, 535-551; Von Holst, III, 357-385, 397-400, 402-403; Schouler, V, 100-113; Young, *Am. Statesman*, 874-883; Wilson, *Slave Power*, II, 129-160; Woodburn, *Pol. Parties*, 65-81; Macy, *Pol. Parties*, 93-118; Alexander, *Pol. Hist. N. Y.*, I, 126-144; McLaughlin's *Cass*, 235-261; Young's *Cass*, 356-369; Shepard's *Van Buren*, 416-434; Howard's *Scott*, 302-313; Dix's *Dix*, I, 222-262; Bancroft's *Seward*, I, 152-170; Lothrop's *Seward*, 48-55; Seward's *Seward*, II, 60-86; Schurz's *Clay*, II, 289-315; Colton's *Clay*, III, 88-99; Curtis's *Webster*, II, 332-347; Pierce's *Sumner*, III, 158-188; Grimke's *Sumner*, 192-203; Adams's *C. F. Adams*, 81-99; Harding's *G. R. Smith*, 113-152; Crittenden's *Crittenden*, I, 297-317; Johnston and Browne's *Stephens*, 224-242; Cleveland's *Stephens*, 88-93; Du Bose's *Yancey*, 194-229.

Sources: McKee, *Conv. and Platforms*, 58-73; McIntyre, *Nat'l. ed. Webster's Works*, IV, 123-174, XIII, 366-380; Sumner, *Works of Sumner*, II, 55-62, 74-88, 139-170; Benton, *View*, II, 722-724; W. H. Smith, *Pol. Hist. Slavery*, I, 82-104; Julian, *Recollections*, 50-68; Baker, *Seward's Works*, III, 286-305; Weed, *Autobiography*, 570-588; White, *Autobiography*, 59-60; Hoar, *Autobiography*, 131-157; Sargent, *Men and Events*, II, 334-335; Niles *Register*, vols. 74 and 75; *Am. Whig Review*, vols. 7 and 8; *Democratic Review*, vols. 22 and 23.

(8) *Taylor's Administration, 1849-1850.*

(a) *Dominant Ideas.*

(1) Territorial: settlement of status of Territories—organization and admission of California and New Mexico as States.

(2) National: patriotic—save the Union.

(b) *Organization.*

(1) Cabinet: State (Clayton), Atty. Gen. (Johnston), Interior (Ewing), P. M. Gen. (Colamer), Treasurer (Meredith), War (Crawford), Navy (Preston); ability, position on slavery, on status territories; sectionalism.

- (2) Congress: membership, Dem., 112, Whig, 105, Free Soil, 13; struggle over speakership; position of free soil members; election of Cobb (Ga.), on plurality vote.
- (3) Civil service: his own desires—"honesty, capacity, fidelity;" dominance of politicians, Fillmore, Weed, etc., the "spoils system"—removals, political appointments.
- (c) *Measures, Other than on Compromise.*
 - (1) California: discovery of gold; rapid settlement; character of population; necessity for government; administrative suggestion for constitutional convention; action—constitution; request for admission as a State.
 - (2) Clayton-Bulwer Treaty: conditions in Central America; English territorial claims; Isthmian canal; treaties with Central American States; negotiations with England, treaty; terms—territory, canal—joint neutralization; varying interpretations—renewal of controversy.
 - (3) Galphin claim: Crawford's action—criticism; scandal.
- (d) *Personnel:* Collamer, Fillmore, S. J. Tilden.

Questions: (1) What qualities of Taylor made him an acceptable president? (2) Explain the position of the free-soilers in the election of speaker of the House, 1849? (3) Were the Whigs true to their professions in regard to the civil service? (4) What policy did Taylor's administration advocate in California? (5) Who was the "power behind the throne" in Taylor's administration? (6) Did the Clayton-Bulwer treaty uphold the Monroe Doctrine? (7) What were the Isthmian troubles that led to the treaty? (8) How was Crawford involved in the Galphin claim?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat., XVII, 285-293; Schouler, V, 129-156; McMaster, VII, 552-614; Von Holst, III, 456-468; Rhodes, I, 99-115, 199-205; Howard's Taylor, 314-347; Bancroft's Seward, I, 206-226; Seward's Seward, II, 99-117; Carr's Douglas, 28-29; Sheahan's Douglas, 99-123; Curtis's Buchanan, I, 619-625; Young, Am. Statesman, 892; Henderson, Am. Dip. Questions, 104-133; Foster, Century Diplomacy, 324-325; Latane. Dipl. Relations, 176-198; Moore, Digest Internl. Law, III, 130-164; V, 206; Elson, Side Lights, I, 243-264.

Sources: Weed, Autobiography, 589-593; Benton, View, II, 737-742; Sargent, Men and Events, II, 342-355; Richardson, Messages, V, 4-30; Williams and Lossing, Statesman's Manual, III, 1831-1850; Democratic Review, XXIV, 3-13, 412-427, XXV, 475, XXVI, 484-498; Am. Whig Review, IX, 439-446, 641-642; XI, 188-203, 235-268; MacDonald, Select Documents, 373-377; Cluskey, Pol. Text Book, 115-116; Snow, Am. Diplomacy, 86-90; Treaties

and Conventions, 440; Members of Western Bar, Life of Douglas, appendix, 31-70; Benton, Debates, XVI, 605-609.

(9-10) THE COMPROMISE OF 1850.

(9) *The Problem, Dec. 1850; Clay's Resolutions, Jan. 29, 1850.*

(a) *Conditions.*

(1) In the nation: excitement—long controversy, 1846-1849; danger of secession; the Nashville convention, attendance, resolutions; Virginia resolutions—significance.

(2) In regard to territory: *California*—asking admission under a free constitution; constitutional question—no enabling act; *New Mexico*—no government, question of its control—what theory, congressional, popular sovereignty, property rights; *Texas boundary*.

(3) In regard to slavery: *interstate slave trade*—question of right to prohibit, attitude South, position abolitionists; *District of Columbia*—slavery in, proposal of Lincoln for compensated emancipation, petitions; slave trade, bitter opposition, petitions, debate in Congress; *fugitive slaves*—existing law, Prigg vs. Pa., decision, demands South—Mason bill; "Liberty" laws of States—constitutionality, effects.

(b) *Points of View.*

(1) Older and conservative men: Clay, Webster, Cass, Douglas—Union first—its preservation the all-important thing.

(2) Younger and radical men: Chase, Seward, Davis, Toombs—settlement of slavery question the first need.

(c) *Compromise Proposals of Clay, Jan. 29, 1850.*

(1) Spirit: middle ground: consultation with Webster—his acceptance of plan.

(2) Treatment of each issue: *California*—a free State; *New Mexico*—leave slavery question to people and courts; *Texas*—money compensation for territorial concession; *District of Columbia*—abolition of slave trade; an efficient fugitive slave law; no action on inter-slave trade and slavery in D. C.

(d) *Personnel*: S. P. Chase, R. Toombs, J. P. Hale.

Questions: (1) Summarize conditions in regard to territorial conditions, Dec., 1849. (2) What problems in connection with the fugitive slave law? (3) What boundary dispute endangering peace? (4) What plan proposed by Lincoln in regard to slavery

in D. C.? (5) How were these questions tending to divide American statesmen? (6) Who became the recognized leader in attempts to settle these questions—his qualities? (7) Who joined with him in his efforts? (8) Outline his proposed plan.

(10) *The Settlement, 1850.*

(a) *Consideration of Clay's Resolutions of Jan. 29.*

(1) Speeches: Clay's Feb. 5—plea for plan and compromise; Calhoun, Mar. 4—necessity of sectional equilibrium, inequality due to legislative not natural causes, plea for justice, means; Webster, Mar. 7—plea for the Union and the Constitution; criticism by North, charges, unpopularity, defense; Seward, Mar. 11—"higher law," against compromise; J. Davis, Mar.—opposition to compromise, justice for South; Chase, Douglas, etc.

(2) Action: appointment of committee of thirteen, Clay, chairman.

(b) *Report of Committee.*

(1) The omnibus bill: union of California, New Mexico and Utah, and Texas boundary bills; object, result.

(2) Slave trade bill: applicable to D. C. only.

(3) Fugitive slaves: radical bill,—commissioners, penalties, etc.

(c) *Death of President Taylor: Accession of Fillmore July 9, 1850.*

(1) Change of attitude: Fillmore for compromise.

(2) New cabinet: State (Webster), Treasury (Corwin), War (Conrad), Navy (Graham), Interior (Stuart), P. M. Gen. (Hall), Atty. Gen. (Crittenden); ability, point of view.

(3) Debate on Clay's committee report: amendment, elimination, destruction.

(d) *Separate Bills, Aug.—Sept. 1850.*

(1) Policy new administration: influence for compromise measures.

(2) Bills: California, New Mexico, Utah, boundary of Texas, slave trade in D. C., fugitive slave law; vote on separate measures—different composition; passage; better feeling, end of danger.

(e) *Personnel: C. F. Adams, A. H. Stephens, Cobb.*

Questions: (1) What were Clay's arguments in support of his plan? (2) Give the essential positions of Calhoun in his last speech. (3) Do you regard the speech as the speech of a secessionist? (4) What method did Clay adopt to secure the passage of his measures? (5) Was Webster's "seventh of March speech"

the work of a statesman or a politician? (6) How did President Taylor stand on the Clay compromise proposals? (7) In what way did Taylor's death change the outlook, and perhaps the future of American history? (8) Were Clay's measures in substance passed or not? (9) Analyze the vote on each bill and compare results.

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat., XVII, 315-332; Schouler, V, 178-201; Von Holst, III, 468-562; Rhodes, I, 116-198; Burgess, Middle Period, 353-364; Young, Am. Statesman, 893-937; Sparks, U. S., II, 149-172; Wilson, Slave Power, II, 208-303; Macy, Pol. Parties, 119-152; T. C. Smith, Liberty and Free Soil Parties, 176-225; Thorpe, Const. Hist. U. S., II, 422-455; Cluskey, Pol. Text Book, 117-121; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., II, 120-125; Andrews, U. S., III, 198-209; Alexander, Pol. Hist. N. Y., II, 145-158; Fiske, Essays, I, 363-410; Johns Hopkins Studies, XIII, 367-415; Dixon, Repeal Mo. Compr., 225-385; McElroy, Ky. in Nat'l. Hist., 454-474; Colton's Clay, III, 112-194; Schurz's Clay, II, 316-373; Rogers's Clay, 333-365; Lodge's Webster, 289-323; Curtis's Webster, II, 381-465; Von Holst's Calhoun, 333-351; Hunt's Calhoun, 298-321; Pinckney's Calhoun, 151-212; Dodd's Davis, 114-129; Howard's Taylor, 348-365; Barre's Fillmore, 312-327; Bancroft's Seward, I, 227-290; Lothrop's Seward, 61-99; Seward's Seward, II, 118-154; Johnson's Douglas, 166-190; Gardner's Douglas, 29-48; Carr's Douglas, 38-40; Sheahan's Douglas, 124-155; Member Western bar, Life of Douglas, 45-52; McLaughlin's Cass, 262-284; Young's Cass, 370-409; Roosevelt's Benton, 291-301; Meigs's Benton, 384-401; Hart's Chase, 119-130; Schucker's Chase, 105-126; Hamlin's Hamlin, 196-215; Julian's Giddings, 270-282; McCall's Stevens, 66-86; Johnston and Browne's Stephens, 240-250; DuBose's Yancey, 243-253; Stovall's Toombs, 67-82; Storey's Sumner, 65-85; Pierce's Sumner, III, 189-203.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 413-415; Caldwell, Survey, 160-163; Hart, Contemporaries, IV, 48-58; Old South Leaflets, IV, No. 80; Harding, Orations, 270-291; Peabody, Am. Patriotism, 483-490; Johnston, Am. Orations, II, 123; MacDonald, Doc. Source Book, 384-394; MacDonald, Select Documents, 370-390; Ames, State Documents, 253-269; W. H. Smith, Pol. Hist. Slavery, I, 105-129; Benton, View, II, 742-787; Greeley, Am. Conflict, I, 198-210; Stephens, War Between States, II, 176-234; Mrs. Davis's Davis, I, 423-463; Sargent, Men and Events, II, 355-370; Lunt, Origin of Civil War, 178-208; Giddings, Rebellion, 300-339; Giddings, Speeches, 391-487; Foote's Rebellion, 113-168; Colton, Works of Clay, VI; Mallory, Works of Clay, II, 601-634; McIntyre, Nat'l ed. Webster's Works, X, 56-172, XIV, 348-352; Webster, Works of Webster, 324-438; Cralle, Works of Calhoun, IV, 542-578; Baker, Works of Seward, I, 51-131; Greeley, Recollections, 250-259; Richardson, Messages, V, 30-75; Williams and Lossing, Statesman's Manual, III, 1850-1900; Benton, Debates, XVI, 386-600; Congr. Globe, appendix to vol. XIX; Democratic Review, vols. 25 to 27; Am. Whig Review, vols. 10 to 12.

CHAPTER VII.

STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY IN THE NATION, 1850-1861.

GENERAL REFERENCES FOR THE PERIOD, 1850-1861.

Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XVIII-XX; Schouler, V, 201-512; Burgess, Middle Period, 365-474; Elson, Hist. U. S., 548-641; Rhodes, I, 199-506, II, III, 1-320; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., II, 127-177; Cambridge, Modern Hist., VII, 405-442; Sparks, Hist. U. S., II, 173-254; W. Wilson, IV, index; Young, Am. Statesman, 937-1125; Von Holst, IV-VII; H. Wilson, Rise and Fall Slave Power, II, 304-704; Stanwood, Hist. of the Presidency, 244-297; McClure, Our Presidents, 115-182; Macy, Political Parties, 93-317; McKee, Political Platforms, 74-120; Fess, Political Theory, 241-314; Smith, A Political Hist. of Slavery, I, 130-350; Wise, End of An Era, 52-174; Brown, The Lower South, 98-187; Ray, Repeal of Mo. Comp.; Dixon, The Mo. Comp. and Repeal, 386-610; Bancroft, Seward, I, 312-523; Lothrop, Seward, 106-245; Storey, Sumner, 87-196; Pierce, Sumner, III, 204-621; Johnson, Douglas, 191-442; Gardner, Douglas, 48-239; Sheahan, Douglas, 155-528; McLaughlin, Cass, 293-350; Hart, Chase, 103-229; Schuckers, Chase, 105-208; Morse, Lincoln, II, 30-179; Arnold, Lincoln, 124-171; Nicolay, Lincoln, 94-174; Nicolay and Hay, Lincoln, II; Garrison, Garrison, III, 313-509; Curtis, Buchanan, II, 34-507; Butler, Benjamin, 96-224; Tyler, Taney, 331-400; Tyler, Letters and Times of the Tylers, II, 501-653; Du Bose, Yancey, 254-571; Blackman, Chas. Robinson, 87-333; Stovall, Toombs; Sping, Kansas; Thayer, The Kansas Crusade; Snider, The Am. Ten Years War, 1855-1865.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 417-454; Am. Orations, III; MacDonald, Select Doc. 373-455; Doc. Source Book, 394-433; Hart, Contemporaries, IV, 59-210; Harding, Select Orations, 292-370; Richardson, Messages, V; Sumner, Works, III-V; Seward, Works, IV, 333-690; Lincoln, Works, I, 166-695; Fillmore, Papers, I, index; Buchanan, Works, VIII, 405-512, IX, X; Am. Hist. Leaflets, Nos. 12, 17, 23; Cong. Globe.

B STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY IN THE NATION, 1850-1861.

(1) *Leadership.*

(a) *William H. Seward, 1801-1872.*

(1) Early life: birthplace—N. J., environment, education: law student, removal to N. Y.

(2) Political career: legislative, governor, member Congress: party, principles, methods, friendships; Senator, 1851; policy on slavery; orator, debater.

- (3) Characteristics: physical, intellectual, moral: as a politician; personal relations.
- (b) *Jefferson Davis, 1808-1889.*
 - (1) Early years: Kentucky experiences: education, West Point life; Mexican war; student of politics, economics, and jurisprudence.
 - (2) Entrance into politics: member House, candidate for governor, Secretary of War, Senator; methods, policies.
 - (3) Characteristics: personal appearance: intellectual qualities—orator, debater; moral principles.
- (c) *A. Lincoln, 1809-1865.*
 - (1) Preparation for life: early experiences in Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois; his parentage; education; storekeeper, surveyor, student of law.
 - (2) Public life: Black Hawk war; member Ill. legislature—characteristics; lawyer—circuit, standing; Congress, 1847-1849; Illinois lawyer, 1850-1856.
 - (3) National career: speeches 1854-1858; candidate for vice-presidency, for senator; debate with Douglas, 1858; attitude on slavery.
 - (4) Characteristics: physical appearance; intellectual and moral qualities; methods as pleader, orator, debater; presidency.
- (d) *Stephen Arnold Douglas, 1813-1861.*
 - (1) Early life: family, birthplace, environment, education, leadership, student law.
 - (2) Westward: trip—experiences; Illinois—penniless; schoolteacher; lawyer; rapid rise—member legislature, receiver land office, judge, House of Representatives, Senator.
 - (3) Characteristics: physical—size, build, head, voice; energy—illustrations; intellectual—debater, orator, keenness, readiness; suavity; moral—personal habits, honesty, integrity, etc.
 - (4) Principles: political; slavery, financial; western interests—land, internal improvements; theories—constitution, control of territories.

Questions: (1) Of these four men which one was most brilliant? (2) Which one the most classic speaker and debater? (3) How do they rank in educational equipment? (4) What seems to you to be the most marked quality of each? (5) Compare them in regard to refinement and ease of manners. (6) In personal

appearance did they show their greatness? (7) what qualities have given Lincoln his commanding position? (8) Does Davis deserve the condemnation usually passed on him? (9) What was the leading quality of each that make him a great debater? (10) How do they rank in opportunity; were they favorites of fortune?

References, General: "Seward;" Lives, Bancroft, Lothrop, Seward; Seward, Works, I, 13-90; Lodge, Political Essay, 1-47; General Histories—Rhodes, Schouler, Von Holst, index, Poole, Mag. Lit.

Source: Seward, Works (5 vols.); Caldwell, American Legislators, 172-191.

"Davis;" Lives, Alfried, Pollard, Dyer, Mrs. V. H. Davis; Trent, Southern Statesmen of Old Regime, 257-293; General Histories, index; Poole, Mag. Lit.

Source: Writings, Rise and Fall of Confederate Gov. (2 vols.); Short Hist. of Confederate States.

"Lincoln;" Lives, Morse, Nicolay, Nicolay and Hay (10 vols.), Arnold, Tarbell, Brooks, Carpenter, Chittenden, Curtis, Davis, Hapgood, McClure, Stoddard; Hill, Lincoln the Lawyer; Whitney, Life on the Circuit with Lincoln; Welles, Lincoln and Seward; Van Buren, Lincoln's Pen and Voice; Chittenden, Personal Reminiscences, 340-427; Thatcher, Ideas That Have Influenced Civilization, IX, 179-196; Hernden and Weik, The True Story of a Great Life (2 vols.); Lamon, Life of Lincoln; Holland, Lincoln, Raymond, Life and Public Services; Barnett, Lincoln and His Presidency: Sparks, Men Who Made the Nation, 378-410; Morgan, Lincoln: The Boy and the Man; Schurz, A Lincoln; Rothschild, Lincoln, the Master of Men; Poole, Index for Mag. Lit.; General Histories.

Source: Works, (2 vols.)

"Douglas;" Lives, Johnson, Gardner, Sheahan, A Member of the Bar, Brown, Carr; Watkins in Morton Hist. of Nebraska, I, 131-159; Orth, Five Am. Politicians, 297-447; General Histories—Rhodes, Von Holst, Schouler; Poole, Mag. Lit.

Source: Caldwell, Am. Legislators, 148-167; Hart, Contemporaries, IV, 97-100, 133-154; Lincoln and Douglas Debate.

(2) *"Finality Years," 1850-1854; Election 1852.*

(a) *Popular Acceptance of the Compromise.*

- (1) Authorship: party claims for honor, final triumph of Democrats; gradual acceptance in South; struggle in Miss.—Foote vs. J. Davis, victory of "Union" party.
- (2) Reasons: natural reaction, love of the Union; spirit of compromise; party policy—interest of politicians.
- (3) Signs of disaffection: resistance to enforcement of fugitive slave law—cases, "Shadrach," "Jerry," "Sims," etc.

- (b) *Election of 1852.*
- (1) Essential issue: faithfulness to compromise.
 - (2) Whigs: candidates—Webster, Fillmore, Scott; relation Webster and Fillmore; Scott and radicals—Seward, Weed, etc.; Webster—effect of seventh of March speech; nominees—Scott and Graham; platform—work of conservatives, “finality.”
 - (3) Democrats: candidates, Douglas, Buchanan, Cass, etc.; effect of two-thirds rule; Pierce, the “dark horse;” nominees—Pierce and King; platform—approval of “finality.”
 - (4) Free-soil: nominees Hale and Julian; principles—opposition to slavery.
 - (5) Campaign: little interest; “tweedle dee,” and “tweedle dum;” disintegration parties in part—Southern Whigs, Webster Men.
 - (6) Result: vote; electoral, Pierce, 254; Scott, 42; popular: Whigs, 1,386,000; Dem., 1,601,000; Free Soil, 156,000.
- (c) *Administration of President Pierce, 1853-1857.*
- (1) Popularity: acceptable 1852-1853 to all sections.
 - (2) Organization: Cabinet: State (Marcy), War (J. Davis), Treasury (Guthrie), Atty. Gen. (Cushing), Navy (Dobbin). Congress: Dem., 159, Whigs, 75, Free Soilers; Civil Service,—“Spoils” system.
 - (3) Measures: see later outlines.
- (d) *Personnel:* Marcy, Caleb Cushing, H. Hamlin, H. S. Foote.

Questions: (1) Which party had the better right to claim the compromise of 1850 as its work?—arguments. (2) What the meaning of “Union” party in the South, 1851? (3) What indications that “finality” did not mean final? (4) What were the chief reasons that prevented Webster’s nomination in 1852? (5) How did Douglas stand in the South in 1852? (6) How do the two parties differ in 1852? (7) Compare electoral and popular votes—significance. (8) Was Pierce’s cabinet made up in harmony with the platform declarations? (9) Why was the Free-Soil vote so much less in 1852 than in 1848?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XVIII, 14-58; Schouler, V, 222-228, 239-250, 270-272; Burgess, 374-379; Rhodes, I, 207, 243-277, 384-399, 419-420; Von Holst, V, 1-44, 101-231, 248-252, 257-274; Young, 937-940; Elson, Hist. U. S., 563-571; Stanwood, Hist. of Presidency, 244-257; McKee, 74-86; McClure, Our Presidents, etc., 115-129; Macy, Pol. Parties, 131-161; Smith, A Political Hist. of Slavery, 144-146, 156-166; Alexander, A Political Hist. of N. Y., II, 159-189; Wise, Thirteen Presidents, 35-49; Curtis, Buchanan, II, 34-67; Curtis, Webster, II, 566-705; Bancroft,

Seward, I, 291-316; Stovall, R. Toombs, 83-106; Du Bose, Yancey, 254-272; Pierce, Sumner, 312-323; Hamlin, Hamlin, 252-262; Johnson, Douglas, 191-206; Schuckers, Chase, 128-133; H. Wilson, II, 360-377.

Source: McKee, Political Platforms, 74-86; Buchanan, Works, VIII, 460-499; Van Tyne, Letters of Webster, 524-525, 529, 531-532, 537-539.

(3) *Native Americanism; Know Nothings, 1852-1857.*

(a) *Immigration, 1846-1854.*

(1) European Conditions: potato famine in Ireland; revolts and revolution on continent; French Republic, 1848; Napoleon III, 1852; German Constitutional demands, 1848-1849—defeat; Hungarian revolution—Kossuth, overthrow 1849; results—enormous emigration.

(2) Immigrants into U. S.; numbers, character—revolutionists; religion—largely Catholic; effect.

(b) *Native American Organization.*

(1) Purposes: preserve American institutions—religious, political, moral and educational.

(2) Method: formation of secret order; ritual, signs, passwords; rapid growth; entrance into politics, 1853.

(c) *The Know Nothings, 1853-1855.*

(1) Plans: citizenship—residence 21 years; foreigners—exclusion from office: Catholics—discrimination.

(2) Growth: 1854—control—state legislators, governors, cities, many members Congress; 1855—expectation of presidency, 1856.

(3) Division: establishment third degree—slavery clause; growth in South; convention, Febr. 1856—secession Northern wing.

(d) *Downfall.*

(1) Un-American: religious tests; secret character, narrow basis, avoidance primary issue of day—slavery.

(2) New Problems: Kansas-Nebraska question.

(e) *Personnel:* S. P. Chase, D. S. Dickinson, Mangum, R. M. T. Hunter.

Questions: (1) How did the immigration about 1850 differ from earlier immigrations? (2) Reasons for such enormous numbers during these years. (3) What earlier movement in our history similar to the Know Nothing? (4) What were the chief aims of the Know Nothing societies? (5) How far to be approved, how far condemned? (6) How explain the rapid growth? (7) Why so temporary in character? (8) Has there been any

similar movement in recent years? (9) Are Americans cool headed or excitable? (10) Over what question did the American party finally break?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XVIII, 136-148; Schouler, V, 304-308, 351-352; Rhodes, II, 50-57, 87-92, 108-111; Von Holst, V, 78-133, 186-208; H. Wilson, II, 419-434, 508-510; Elson, Hist. U. S., 579-580; Alexander, Pol. Hist. of N. Y., 201-202; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist. II, 258-265; Pierce, Sumner, III, 421-424; Stanwood, Hist. of Presidency, 261-264; Nason, Henry Wilson, 129-148; McMaster, With the Fathers, 87-107; Curtis, Hist. of the Republican Party, I, 145-147; Hopkins, Pol. Parties, 91-94; Desmond, The Know Nothing Party, 1-159; J. H. U. Studies, XVII, 153-269; Am. Hist. Review, III, 672-682; Am. Hist. Ass. Reports, 1896, 177-187; Hoar, Autobiography, I, 188-191.

Source: McClure, Our Presidents, 140-143; McKee, National Conventions, 100-104; Seward, Works, III, 386-389; Tribune Almanac, 1855, 22-23, 1857, 43; Clay, Private Correspondence, 497-520; Curtis, The Rep. Party, I, 219-222; Cooper, Am. Pol., Book I, 57-71; Cluskey, Political Text-Book, 55-68, 283-310, 693-706.

(4) *Foreign Relations, 1850-1860.*

(a) *With the Nations of Europe.*

- (1) The Hungarian revolution: sending an American commissioner into a revolutionary state—criticism by Austria; Hülsemann letter—reply of Webster, 1851; Kossuth in U. S., 1852; reception by Young America; America "A World Power;" Koszta.
- (2) English relations: Central Am. affairs—interpretation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.
- (3) Diplomatic costumes: character, American attitude.

(b) *Mexican Questions.*

- (1) Boundary—interpretation of treaty of 1848.
- (2) Gadsden purchase: area, importance, terms treaty.

(c) *Canadian Problems.*

- (1) Issues: trade and commerce, the fisheries.
- (2) Settlement: reciprocity treaty, 1854—terms, importance, effects.

(d) *Cuban-Spanish Difficulties.*

- (1) Acquisition: aim, 1848-1860; attempts to buy—offers, Spanish position.
- (2) Filibustering: Spanish complaints—American answers; expeditions—The Quitman, etc.; Soulé in Spain—his conduct; The "Black Warrior" episode, Feb., 1854; correspondence—Soule, war; the Kansas-Nebraska bill—effects on people North, on Marcy; settlement; The "Ostend Manifesto," Oct., 1854—terms, reception, effects.

- (e) Hawaii: relation to U. S.; trade, military; treaty—annexation, outcome.

- (f) *Personnel*: Bell, Fillmore, Kossuth, Quitman.

Questions: (1) What were the dominant features of European history about 1845-1850? (2) How did the events in Europe affect American history—examples. (3) What attitude did "Young America" take toward the Monroe Doctrine? (4) Object of Kossuth in coming to the United States? (5) Give the chief terms of the treaty of 1854 with Canada. (6) Relation of the Kansas-Nebraska bill to the annexation of Cuba. (7) Who were the authors of the Ostend Manifesto? (8) What doctrine set forth in it? (9) How did Soulé carry on negotiations with Spain? (10) What quality in our diplomacy during these years impresses you most?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XVIII, 75-93, 249-262; Rhodes, I, 216-221, 231-242, 294-296, 416-419; II, 1-43, 120-121, 350-354; Schouler, V, 214-219, 229-237, 251-255, 296-300, 310-314, 416-418, 453-454; Von Holst, IV, 45-100; V, 1-50; Greeley, Am. Conflict, I, 270-278; Smith, A Pol. Hist. of Slavery, I, 149-155; Curtis, Buchanan, II, 136-141, 211-227; Curtis, Webster, II, 533-565; Foster, Century of Diplomacy, 326-355; Latané, Diplomatic Relations with Cuba, 106-136; Chadwick, Diplomacy, etc., 224-272; Callahan, Cuba, 221-328; Foster, Diplomacy in the Orient, 133-169, 203-255; Henderson, Am. Diplomatic Questions, 123-136; Quisenbury, Lopez's Expeditions to Cuba; H. H. Bancroft, California, chs. 16 and 17; Pol. Sci. Quarterly, VIII, 1-32; Am. Hist. Reviews, XII, 280-298.

Source: MacDonald, Select Documents, 390-394, 405-412; Cluskey, Political Text-Book, 133-134, 477-481; Van Tyne, Letters of Webster, 487-497; Am. Hist. Leaflets, No. 2; Webster, Works (Webster ed.), VI, 488-517; (National ed.), XII, 162-191; Executive Documents, 33rd Cong. 2nd Session, No. 93.

- (5) *The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 1854.*

- (a) *The Nebraska Country, 1840-1853.*

- (1) Name: origin, first use, what territory?

- (2) Attempts at organization: bills 1844, 1845, 1848—Douglas as champion, reasons; various boundaries of proposed territory; bill of 1853—passage in House, brief debate, statement of Giddings; in Senate, posthumous, remark of Sen. Atchison.

- (b) *The Nebraska Bill, Jan. 4,—Jan. 23, 1854.*

- (1) Preamble to bill: statement of principle—popular sovereignty.

- (2) The bill: terms, importance of Art. 21; relation to the Missouri Compromise; Dixon's amendment, Jan. 16; Sumner's Jan. 17; recommitment bill to committee.

- (3) Independent Democrats: appeal to country, Jan. 19; charges against Douglas; terms; effects.
- (c) *The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, Jan. 23, 1854.*
 - (1) Provisions: two territories, change in boundaries; slavery provision, change in phrasing, significance.
 - (2) Objects of change; in number of territories, theories—slavery, commercial interests; in phrasing.
 - (3) Struggle and debate: *Senate*, Seward, Chase, etc. vs. Douglas; charges, bad faith—breaking a sacred compact, extension slavery: claims of Douglas, action in harmony with compromise of 1850, doctrine of non-intervention, present spirit of people; vote, 37-14; *House*, action on Senate bill—supposed burial, resurrection—means; filibustering—Campbell vs. Richardson; debate; amendment—voters; passage 113-100, May 23, 1854; vote—party, sectional; a law, May 30.
- (d) *Effects.*
 - (1) On parties: reorganization.
 - (2) On compromise: practically impossible in future.
- (e) *Personnel:* H. Greeley, J. T. McLean, L. D. Campbell.

Questions: (1) To what region did the name Nebraska at first apply? (2) Was it slave or free territory in 1853? (3) How did Douglas propose to treat the slavery question in his bill to organize the territory of Nebraska, Jan. 10, 1854? (4) How did the Dixon and Sumner amendments propose to change the bill? (5) What changes made in the bill as reintroduced Jan. 23? (6) What claimed objects of Douglas? (7) What reason did Douglas give for making two territories? (8) Was the Missouri Compromise act repealed in 1850 or in 1854? (9) In which year did Douglas wish to make it appear the repeal took place? (10) In what way was the bill finally forced through the House? (11) What defence can you make of Douglas in this measure?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XVIII, 94-109; Schouler, V, 279-294; Burgess, Middle Period, 389-449; Rhodes, I, 421-500; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., II, 141-169; Von Holst, IV, 280-461; Elson, 571-578; Cambridge. Mod. Hist., VII, 426; Young, Am. Statesman, 941-954; W. Wilson, IV, Index; Andrews, U. S., III, 216-222; Hopkins, Pol. Parties, 85-89; Clusky, Pol. Text Book, 349, 356, etc., Smith, Liberty, and Free Soil, 285-298; Smith, Pol. Hist. of Slavery, I, 162-184; Hess, Pol. Theories, 286; Woodburn, Pol. Parties, 82-84; H. Wilson, Rise and Fall, II, 378-405; Lan-

don, *Const. Hist.*, 196-197; Elson, *Sidelights*, 295-310; Morton, *Hist. of Nebr.*, I; Ray, *Repeal of Mo. Comp.*, 199-289; Dixon, *Mo. Comp. and its Repeal*, 430-612; Moore, *Am. Cong.*, 350-371; Alexander, *Pol. Hist. of N. Y.*, II, 180-190; Julian, *Recollections*, 133f; Greely, *Am. Conflict*, I, 224f; Davis, *Confederacy*, I, ch. X; Blaine, I, 109f; Bancroft, *Seward*, 333-363; Seward, *Seward*, II, 215-230; Lothrop, *Seward*, 115-133; Storey, *Sumner*, 101-131; Pierce, *Sumner*, 345-409; Roosevelt, *Benton*, 309-313; McLaughlin, *Cass*, 293-308; Johnson, *Douglas*, 220-260; Gardner, *Douglas*, 63-82; Sheahan, *Douglas*, 187-277; Member of West. Bar, *Douglas*, 63-71; Warden, *Chase*, 336f; Schuckers, *Chase*, 134-140; Orth Five Am. Politicians (for Douglas), 318-346; Morse, *Lincoln*, 94-96; Arnold, *Lincoln*, 108-112; Nicolay, *Lincoln*, 94-100; Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, I, 330-352; Various other lives of Lincoln; Garrison, *Garrison*, III, 402-412; Curtis, *Buchanan*, II, 187-211; DuBois, *Yancey*, 273-288.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 412-427; Caldwell, *Some Am. Leg.*, 136, 157-167; Caldwell, *Survey*, 163-166; Johnston, *Am. Orations*, III, 3-88; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, 395-405; *Documentary Source Book*, 397-405; Hart, *Contemp.*, IV, 97-100; Richardson, *Messages*, V, 194f; Ames, *State Documents*, 280-288; Member of West. Bar, *Douglas*, *Append.*, 71-146; Carr, *Douglas*, 187-218; *Am. Hist. Leaflet*, No. 17; *Congressional Globe* for 1853-4; *Works of Sumner*. *Seward*, *Lincoln*, *Buchanan*, etc., *Fillmore Papers*; *Tribune Almanac*, II, (1855), 34-41.

(6) *Formation of the Republican Party, 1854-1856.*

(a) *The Name.*

(1) Origin: place, reasons.

(b) *Reasons of Formation.*

(1) Breaking up of old parties: passing of former issues.

(2) Slavery: a sectional issue, sectionalize parties.

(3) Kansas-Nebraska Act: solidification of opponents of slavery extension.

(c) *Development, 1854-1856.*

(1) 1854: in Northwest—Wisconsin, first use of name, local convention; Michigan, July 6—first State convention; membership—previous party affiliations, resolutions; other States—Iowa, Ohio, Ind., July 13; in East—slower growth, reasons; condition at close of 1854.

(2) 1855: absorption of mass of Northern Whigs; attitude of Webster wing; successes—States, Congress; relation to Know-Nothings; struggle over speakership—Banks' election.

(3) Composition: Free Soilers, Whigs, Democrats; proportion of each.

(d) *Principles.*

(1) Early years: slavery, one issue—non-extension.

(2) Later times: gradual changes.

(e) *Personnel:* J. C. Fremont, J. Dayton, Chas. Sumner.

Questions: (1) How did it happen that the present Republican party got the name Republican? (2) What were its constituent elements? (3) Immediate occasion for its formation? (4) What party was its forerunner? (5) In what State did it have its beginnings under name Republican? (6) What can be said in regard to its principles? (7) What its outlook for supremacy in 1857? (8) What event gave it renewed strength? (9) Who were its most powerful leaders?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XVIII, 109-121, 136-149; Schouler, V, 303-308; Rhodes, II, 45-107; Von Holst, V, 130-134; Elson, 578-582; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., II, 197-198; Wilson, Rise and Fall, II, 406-434; Stanwood, Hist. Presidency, 258-261; McClure, Our Presidents, 127-131; Macy, Pol. Parties, 180-202; Woodburn, Pol. Parties, 50-51, 57-62; Curtis, The Republican Party, I, 1-6, 148-249; Smith, Liberty and Free Soil, 298-308; Jameson, Dictionary of Am. Ref., 161-162; Blaine, Twenty Years, 116-119; Arnold, Lincoln, 124-127; Morse, Lincoln, 95-100; Nicolay and Hay, Lincoln, I, 352-365; McLaughlin, Cass, 308-323; Bancroft, Seward, I, 363-398; Seward, Seward, II, 230-234, 251-259, and Table of Contents; Lothrop, Seward, 133-144; Schucker's Chase, 165-169; Hart, Chase, 147-158; Du Bose, Yancey, 316-323; Sparks, U. S., 205-211, Perley's Reminiscences, I, 497f.

Sources: Seward's Works, IV, 223-240; Tribune Almanac (1855), II, 16-19, 53-65; Congressional Globe for 1854-56.

Special: Am. Hist. Review, IV, 313-321.

(7) "*Popular Sovereignty*" in Kansas, 1854-1857.(a) *Existence of new conditions: a new problem.*

(1) Earlier territories: an existing population at time of organization of territory.

(2) Kansas and Nebraska; territorial organization for a future population.

(b) *Beginning of immigration, June, 1854.*

(1) Settlements: location, numbers, former home of settlers.

(2) Aid societies: emigrant aid societies of New England—A. Lawrence, Thayer, etc., and elsewhere; "Blue Lodges" in Missouri; question of precedence; effects.

(3) First election: delegate to Congress; invasion from Mo.; success pro-slavery candidate—Whitfield.

(c) *Politics, 1854-1855.*

- (1) Governors: Reeder (Pa.), 1854-1855; Shannon (O), 1855-1856; Geary (Pa.), 1856-1857; Walker (Miss.), 1857.
- (2) Election of Territorial Legislature: second Mo. invasion—5,000; pro-slavery success; action of Reeder; effect on North; Reeder's letters and speeches—removal, Aug. 15, 1855.
- (3) Action of free soil men: Robinson, Lane, Reeder, etc.; call of a constitutional convention, Topeka constitution, Oct.-Dec., 1855; Election under Jan., 1856; Robinson, governor, free soil legislature; result—two full governments.

(d) *Civil War, 1855-1857.*

- (1) Character of population: frontiersmen.
- (2) Beginnings: individual conflicts; arrests, sheriff Jones—"Missouri Ruffians;" Shannon—compromise, end of "Wakarusa war."
- (3) At its height, 1856: sack of Lawrence, May 21, John Brown "murders;" flight of Reeder, arrest of Robinson; Geary governor—promises, failure, a free soiler.

(e) *Personnel:* Robinson, Lane, Geary, J. Calhoun.

Questions: (1) How did the application of the principle of "popular sovereignty" differ in Kansas from that in New Mexico? (2) What danger was there in attempting to apply it in these territories—Kansas and Nebraska? (3) Why was the struggle so much more intense in Kansas than in Nebraska? (4) What was the first fruit in Kansas? (5) Upon which section should the responsibility be placed? (6) Were John Brown's acts in Kansas approvable? (7) Was the Topeka constitution the result of a revolutionary movement? (8) Were the free-soilers wise in declining for so long to take part in regular elections? (9) How did they justify themselves? (10) By what time was civil order secured?

General References, Secondary: (1) Am. Nat. S., XVIII, 121-135; Rhodes, II, 78-87, 98-107, 150-168, 237-240; Von Holst, V, 134-185, 284-315, 422-435; Schouler, V, 320-333, 344-345, 357-358; Blackman, Life of Robinson, 87-249; Smith, Political Hist. of Slavery, I, 184-192; Greeley, The Am. Conflict, I, 235-245; Hinton, J. Brown, 39-113; Redpath, Life of J. Brown, 83-175; Sanborn, Life and Letters of J. Brown, 160-417; Mrs. Robinson, Kansas, 11-40, 95-112, 132-315; Spring, Kansas, 24-208; Thayer, The Kansas Crusade, 18-35, 63-72, 186-251; H. Wilson, II, chs. 35, 37, 40-42, 49; Nicolay and Hay, Lincoln, II, ch. 6.

Source: Hart, Contemporaries, IV, 104-121; MacDonald, Select Documents, 413-415; Kansas Hist. Society Collections, House Re-

ports, 34 Cong. 1st Session, Nos. 3 and 200; Richardson, Messages and Papers, V, 352-360; Wilder, Annals of Kansas, 57-59, 118-119; Cluskey, Political Text-Book, 362-366, 367-384.

(8) *Kansas "Popular Sovereignty" in Congress, 1855-1857.*

(a) *First Blood for Pro-Slavery Cause.*

(1) Delegate to Congress: Whitfield—pro-slavery, admission, 1854-1857.

(2) Free-Soil "Senators," Reeder and Lane, rejection, 1856.

(b) *The Topeka Constitutional Struggle, 1855-1856.*

(1) Admission of Kansas as a State: *House*; motion to admit, long and bitter debate; adoption of motion; effect of discussion—unification of anti-slavery men into Republican party; *Senate*, debate, speech of Douglas—arguments; rejection of House bill.

(2) A Southern proposal: Toombs—a new election, a new registration, management in hands of committee of five; rejection by Republicans, reasons, wisdom; fairness of the Toombs bill.

(3) A Republican plan: Dunn (Ind.)—restoration of the line 36° 30'; rejection—by South, reasons; by Douglas Democrats—causes.

(c) *Congressional Committee of Investigation, 1856.*

(1) Membership: Sherman (O.), Howard (Mich.), Republicans; Oliver (Mo.), Democrat.

(2) Reports: *majority*—frauds, disorder, murders; *minority*—deplorable conditions; so far agreement; disagreement—reasons and responsibility for these conditions.

(3) *Use of report*: campaign documents.

(d) *Outcome.*

(1) No action: House and Senate in deadlock.

(2) Conditions in Kansas: growing worse.

(e) *Butler, Collmer, Pierce, Buchanan.*

Questions: (1) What advantage to the pro-slavery cause in the seating of delegate Whitfield? (2) Which interest controlled the House of Representatives, 1855? (3) Which the Senate? (4) What was the effect in the House of the long contest, over speaker and the Topeka constitution? (5) What arguments for and against the admission of Kansas under the Topeka constitution? (6) What compromise offer made by Senator Toombs? (7) Were the Republicans justified in rejecting the offer? (8) Do you approve the Dunn plan? (9) What condition found to prevail in Kansas by the investigating committee?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S. XVIII, 149-160; Schouler, V, 346-349; Von Holst, V, 247-250, 376-435; Rhodes, II, 125-133, 189-201; H. Wilson, II, 470-471, 475-507; Young, Am.

Statesman, 971-978; Moore, Am. Congress, 363-370; Curtis, Buchanan, II, 187-210; Pierce, Sumner, III, 425-484; Grimke, Sumner, 260-294; Storey, Sumner, 131-153; Seward, Seward at Washington, II, 280-290; Bancroft, Seward, 398-421; Lothrop, Seward, 151-167; Brown and Johnston, Stephens, 302-316; Kerr, J. Sherman, I, 47-67; Atlantic Monthly, I, 492-500, Nicolay and Hay, Lincoln, II, 47-57; Johnson, Douglas, 281-306; Sheahan, Douglas, 284-311; Gardner, Douglas, 92-109; Snider, The Am. Ten Years' War, 154-176.

Source: Cluskey, Political Text Book, 366-398, 613-628; Cong. Globe; Tribune Almanac, 1857, 19-28, 1858, 18-22; American Orations, III, 88-128; Sumner, Works, V, 125; Sheahan, Douglas, 295-301; Cong. Globe, Vol. 33, 529f; (Sumner), 280f (Douglas), 365f (Collamer), 399f and 762f (Seward), 115f (Toombs); Seward, Works, IV, 479f, 512f.

(9) *The Election of 1856; Buchanan.*

(a) *Congress, 1855-1857; Election Members, 1854.*

(1) Composition: heterogeneous—Democrats, anti-Nebraska Democrats, Know-Nothings, Whigs, Free Soilers, Independents.

(2) Election speaker: first ballot—over 30 candidates; first sifting—to five: final voting, Democrats, Richardson (Ill.), Orr (S. C.), Aiken (S. C.)—100 votes; Republican, Banks (R. I.). 103 votes; election Banks—two months balloting.

(b) *Essential Issues.*

(1) The Kansas-Nebraska Bill and its results; slavery.

(2) Foreigners: treatment, citizenship.

(c) *Party Convention and Candidates.*

(1) Democrats: leading candidates—Pierce, Buchanan, Douglas, Marcy: effect of sack of Lawrence and attack on Sumner—defeat of first three—association with cause of these events, Kansas-Nebraska bill; nomination Buchanan and Breckenridge; platform—"state equality."

(2) Republicans: candidates—Seward, Chase, McLean; character of convention—composite; opposition to Seward—a Whig; to Chase—too radical; to McLean—member supreme court; Fremont and Dayton—availability nominees; effect on party; platform—non-extension slavery, Cuba, Ostend manifesto; Pacific railroad, improvement rivers.

(3) Americans and Whigs: nominees, Fillmore and Donelson; platform—no geographical parties, the constitution, peace.

(d) *Campaign*: North—intense; South—quiet.

(e) *Result*.

(1) *Vote*: States—Republicans 11, Democrats 19, Americans 1; electoral vote, Fremont 114, Buchanan 174, Fillmore 8; popular vote, Republicans, 1,341,000; Democrats, 1,838,000, Americans, 874,000.

(2) *Future*: combination Republicans and Americans in pact; success Republicans.

(f) *Organization of the New Administration*.

(1) *Cabinet*: State (Cass), Treasury (Cobb), Atty. Gen. (Black), War (Floyd), Navy (Toucey), P. M. Gen. (Brown), Interior (Thompson); character, ability, sectional distribution.

(2) *Civil service*: spoils system, machine.

(g) *Personnel*: J. Black, N. P. Banks, Soulé.

Questions: (1) Who were the leading candidates for speaker in Dec., 1855? (2) What parties or interests did each represent? (3) What caused the defeat of the three leading Democratic candidates for presidential nomination, 1856? (4) What factor favored Buchanan? (5) What was the meaning of "State Equality" of the Democratic platform? (6) Did the Republicans nominate their strongest man in 1856? (7) For what principles did the Republicans stand in that year? (8) What predictions made in regard to future of Republican party at the close of the campaign?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XVIII, 161-174; Schouler, V, 349-357; Rhodes, II, 118-120, 169-237; Von Holst, V, 436-468; Young, Am. Statesman, 971-974; Elson, 282-286; Wilson, Rise and Fall, II, 508-522; Clusky, Pol. Text Book, 485-490, etc.; Stanwood, Presidency, 261-278; McClure, Our Presidents, 131-154; Macy, Pol. Parties, 221-229; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., II, 198-201; Hopkins, Pol. Parties, 94-103; Smith, Pol. Hist. of Slavery, I, 211-212; Curtis, Republican Party, I, 249-268; Blaine, Twenty Years, I, 122-131; Curtis, Buchanan, II, 169-187; Arnold, Lincoln, 127-138; Nicolay, Lincoln, 101-107; Morse, Lincoln, 100-103; Nicolay and Hay, Lincoln, II, 23-37; McLaughlin, Cass, 323-328; McCall, Stevens, 92-97; Garrison's Garrison, III, 434-447; Bancroft, Seward, I, 398-432; Lothrop, Seward, 144-151; Hart, Chase, 158-177; Schucker's, Chase, 195-197; DuBose, Yancey, 323-335; Stovall, Toombs, 121-129; Snider, The Am. Ten Years' War, 92-137.

Source: McKee, Platforms, 87-107; Clusky, Text Book, 183-241; 534-535; Greely, Pol. Text Book, 203-217; Cleveland-Stephens 561-580; Choate, Works, II, 387-415; Buchanan, Works, X, 8, 23, 80-114; Fillmore, Papers, II, 1-31; Lincoln, Works, I, 220-226; Seward, Works, IV, 241-288; Congressional Globe, 1855-1856; Tribune Almanac, II (for 1856), 17, 53-65.

(10) *The Dred Scott Decision, March 6, 1857.*

(a) *The Court.*

- (1) Organization: number of judges; territorial distribution; length of service.
- (2) Personnel: ability; political affiliations; position on slavery.
- (3) Constitutional bias: for broad or strict construction; National or State sovereignty.

(b) *The Case.*

- (1) Scott: Missouri slave, taken by owner to Illinois, then to Minn. territory; back to Missouri; marriage, children.
- (2) Suits: in Mo. courts; decision—Scott a slave; Missouri courts—no jurisdiction outside State; in U. S. Circuit Court—affirmation of decision of Missouri court—a federal principle; case to Supreme Court.

(c) *Action of the Court.*

- (1) First plan: decision only on question of jurisdiction—Judge Nelson.
- (2) Revised plan, 1857: consideration of all questions involved; reasons—restore harmony in Union; issues—negroes property, possession of citizenship—right to sue, power of Congress over territory.
- (3) Decision: question of decision vs. dictum; practical acceptance of Taney's opinion as law.

(d) *Effects.*

- (1) On legal status of slavery in territories; on the theories in regard to control of territories.
- (2) On public sentiment: in the North—antagonistic—charge of conspiracy; on the South—satisfaction, security of rights in territory.

(e) *Personnel:* Nelson, Curtis, Taney, Campbell.

Questions: (1) What standing had the Supreme Court in public confidence in 1850-1860? (2) Did the court use this public confidence for good or ill purposes? (3) What do you learn in regard to the ability and honesty of the members of the court? (4) How many separate cases were there in the Dred Scott controversy? (5) What did Judge Nelson decide? (6) What other question had an opinion at least in its favor? (7) What part of the so-called opinion do many hold was without binding force? (8) How did Lincoln stand in regard to the decision? (9) What plan did Douglas set forth to destroy its practical effects? (10) What effect did his plan have on his political future?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XVIII, 190-209; XIX, 59-67; Schouler, V, 376-382; Rhodes, II, 249-276; Von Holst, VI, 1-47; Smith, Pol. Hist. of Slavery, I, 242-

268; Curtis, Const. Hist., II, 266; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., II, 169-178; Sparks, U. S., I, 223; II, 212-216; Young, Am. Statesman, 979-981; Burgess, Middle Period, 449-460; Ewing, Dred Scott Case; Benton, Examination of D. Scott Case; Gray and Lovell, Legal Review of D. Scott Case; Thorpe, Const. Hist., II, 536-553; Clusky, Pol. Text Book, 147-208; Moore, Am. Cong., 37; Macy, Pol. Parties, 229-240; Woodburn, Pol. Parties, 85, 89; Fess, Pol. Theory, 288-291; Carson, Supreme Court of U. S., 356, 652, Index; Const. Hist. as seen in Am. Law, Index; Tyler, Taney, 331-400; Santvoord, Lives of Chief Justices, 459 and Table of Contents; Roosevelt, Benton, 315-319; Morse, Lincoln, 102-110; Nicolay and Hay, Lincoln, II, 47-60; Arnold, Lincoln, 130-132; Dodd, Davis, 154-157; Curtis, Buchanan, II, 205; Greely, Am. Conflict, I, 251-264; Du Bose, Yancey, 335-340; Nicolay, Lincoln, 108-113.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 427-429; Hart, Contemp., IV, 122-136; MacDonald, Select Documents, 416-435; Documentary Source Book, 405-420; Ames, State Documents, 295-298; Am. Hist. Leaflet, No. 23; Tyler's Taney (decision quoted), 517-608 (app.); Boyd's Cases, 471-491 (old ed.); Thayer's Cases, I, 480-496; Works of Sumner, Lincoln, Fillmore, Buchanan, Seward, etc.

(II) *Slavery as an Institution.*

(a) *Industrial Conditions Under Negro Slavery.*

- (1) Labor: efficiency, compare with free in agriculture—production, prices lands, variety of products, net income; in commerce; in manufactures.
- (2) Condition laborer: food, clothing, home comforts; cost of keeping—extreme South; hours of labor; incentive—free, slave; punishment; protection to life: on the plantations, in domestic service; slave breeding—effect on women.
- (3) Manual labor: standing, efficiency.

(b) *Social Influence.*

- (1) Classes: tendency to produce—oligarchy, aristocracy, proletariat; manual labor class.
- (2) Provincialism: education—school books, sectional; localism—religious, political; literature—political in character, amount; idealization of local institutions—slavery, agricultural life; free speech—limitation.
- (3) Home life: characteristics—comforts, family solidarity.

(c) *Moral Life.*

- (1) Ruling class: men, women; lower classes; qualities.
- (2) Negroes: marriage, slave breeding; mulattoes—amalgamation; chattels—effects.

(d) *Final Judgment.*

(1) In Uncle Tom's Cabin: degree of truth; errors.

(2) Difficulties of problem: long existence, relation to whole system of public and private life; alternatives—free negroes—incompetency, colonization—difficulties; change of public opinion—how secure.

Questions: (1) Does the evidence seem to prove that free or slave labor was the cheaper? (2) How did slavery affect the industries of the South? (3) What difference between slavery in Virginia and the extreme South? (4) What kind of a ruling class did slavery tend to produce? (5) How do you explain the unity in action between slave and non-slavery holder? (6) Why was it necessary to destroy practically free-speech when slavery existed? (7) What arguments seemed to be convincing against emancipation? (8) What arguments were used to justify the system of slavery? (9) Does Uncle Tom's Cabin present a true picture of slavery? (10) Did emancipation end the negro problem?

General References, Secondary: Rhodes, I, 303-383; Am. Nat., XVI, 49-151, XIX, 3-36; Von Holst, III, 563-597; W. G. Brown, The Lower South, 3-82; Reed, Brothers' War, 45-50, 330-345; Lee, True Hist. Civil War, 24-53; Bogart, Econ. Hist. U. S., 251-264; Wright, Industr. Evol. U. S., 143-158; Page, The Negro, 3-55, 162-204; Hammond, Cotton Industry, I, 34-119; U. B. Phillips, Economic Cost of Slaveholding (Pol. Science Quarterly, XX, 257-275), and Southern Black Belts (Am. Hist. Review, XI, 816); Stone, Southern Economic Problems (Am. Hist. Review, XIII, 779-785, 790-797); Williams, Negro Race, II, 147-213; Ingram, Slavery, 281-285; Merriam, Am. Pol. Theories, 203-251; Snider, Am. Ten Years' War, 262-329; Curtis, Rep. Party, I, 148-169; Cleveland's Stephens, 124-135; Du Bose's Yancey, 414-438; Am. Hist. Review XI, 798-816.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 435-450; Caldwell, Survey, 163-168; Hart, Contemporaries, IV, 59-79; Callendar, Econ. Hist. U. S., 752-819; Hurd, Law of Freedom and Bondage, II, 2-218; Kettell, Southern Wealth and Northern Profits; Cairnes, Slave Power, 33-105; Helper, Impending Crisis, 11-122, 281-413; Goodell, Am. Slave Code, 9-385; Goodwin, Southern Slavery, 212-306; Sawyer, Southern Institutes, 147-236; Bledsoe, Liberty and Slavery, 292-300; DeBow, Resources of Southwest, II, 205-264, 269-292, 330-341; III, 62-75, 120-126; Olmstead, Cotton Kingdom, I and II; Stephens, War Between the States, I, 621-625, 636-647; Pollard, Lost Cause, 54-63; Wise, End of an Era, 137-151; Parson Brownlow's Book, 105-113; N. Adams, Southside View of Slavery; C. P. Brown, The Planter; Stowe, Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin, 146-586; Frederick Douglass, My Bondage and Freedom, 33-320; Washington, Up from Slavery, 1-18.

(12) *Final Stages of Kansan "Popular Sovereignty," the Lecompton Constitution, 1857-1858.*

(a) *Formation of the Lecompton Constitution, 1857.*

(1) Delegates to convention: character of election, character of delegates; president John Calhoun.

(2) The constitution: provisions, general, on slavery, amendment; submission—plan, reasons.

(b) *The Constitution Before Congress.*

(1) Position Buchanan: an administrative measure—reasons, position cabinet, significance.

(2) Douglas: opposition—interview with Buchanan—stormy scene; attempts at reconciliation; president's message—Douglas against, reasons.

(3) Debate and action: Senate—defeat of Douglas, 33-25; House—amendment bill, resubmission; compromise—the English bill, terms, justice, significance; vote, 120-112; Douglas' position.

(c) *Struggle in Kansas Over the Ratification of the Constitution.*

(1) Conditions: R. J. Walker (Miss.), governor; able, honest, determined, just; plan—formation of a Democratic, not a slave state, reasons; appeal to free soilers successful; abandonment of Topeka constitution; election of new territorial legislature, 1857, majority free soilers; council 9 to 4; House 24 to 15.

(2) Method of submission: "the constitution with slavery, the constitution with no slavery." reasons; violation of popular sovereignty.

(3) Elections: constitutional convention date, Dec. 21, 1857, voters—pro slavery men—result; legislative date, Jan. 4, voters—all, result.

(4) The English bill: rejection, vote, reasons, results.

(d) *Results.*

(1) In Kansas: on slavery, on parties.

(2) On Douglas: in party, in future.

(e) *Personnel:* F. P. Stanton, Gwin, J. Bell.

Questions: (1) Did the free-soilers commit an error in not voting at election for delegates to Lecompton convention? (2) Why did they refuse to vote? (3) What were the disputed clauses in the constitution? (4) What arguments seemingly convinced Buchanan that the proposed method of submission was fair? (5) Why did Douglas refuse to approve the manner of submission? (6) How did the two houses of Congress stand on accepting Kan-

sas under the Lecompton constitution? (7) What plan was finally adopted by Congress? (8) In what way was it a compromise? (9) What was Gov. Walker's view in regard to merits of the case? (10) Under what constitution was Kansas finally admitted as a state?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XVIII, 190-235; Schouler, V, 383-386, 390-400; Von Holst, VI, 47-96, 166-253; Burgess, Middle Period, 460-474; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist. II, 163-166; Young, Am. Statesman, 983-993; Elson, Hist. U. S., 592-595; Smith, A Political Hist. of Slavery, I, 249-258; Greeley, Am. Conflict, I, 248-250; Blaine, Twenty Years in Cong., I, 138-144; Rhodes, II, 271-289; Wilson, Rise and Fall of Slave Power, II, 534-565; Macy, Pol. Parties, 240-246; Johnson, Douglas, 324-347; Gardner, Douglas, 125-144; Carr, Douglas, 62-72; Sheahan, Douglas, 311-324, 328-353; A Lawyer, Douglas, 105-125; Carr, Douglas, 218-234; 90-134; Du Bose, Yancey, 343-346; Curtis, Buchanan, 187-210; Hamlin, Hamlin, 318-330; Bancroft, Seward, 432-454; Lothrop, Seward, 168-184; Spring, Kansas, 209-236, 256-262; Pollard, Lost Cause, 67-70; Robinson, Kansas, 344-354, 374-375; Nicolay & Hay, Lincoln, II, 90-134.

Source: MacDonald, Select Documents, 435-438; Hart, Contemporaries, 119-121; Cluskey, Political Text-Book, 399-460, 709-763; Richardson, Messages, V, 471-481, 497-503; Sheahan, Douglas, 314-324, 328-353, A Lawyer, Douglas, 105-125; Carr, Douglas, 218-234; Johnson and Brown, Stephens, 328-333; Moore, Works of Buchanan, X, 179-192, 235-242; Seward, Works, IV, 574-618.

(13) *The Lincoln-Douglas Debate, 1858.*

(a) *Salient Conditions in Spring of 1858.*

(1) In the Nation: result of Douglas' doctrine of popular sovereignty in Kansas, 1855-1857—Civil War; breach between Douglas and President over Lecompton Constitution, 1857-1858; Cooperation of Douglas and Republicans; attitude of Greeley, Colfax, etc., toward Douglas; abandonment by administration of popular sovereignty; Dred Scott decision, 1857.

(2) In Illinois: nomination, April 21, by Democratic Convention of Douglas for Senator; June 9, Administration Democrats against; June 17, Republican nomination of Lincoln.

(b) *The Debate:*

(1) Preliminaries: Lincoln's "House Divided Against Itself," Speech, June 16; Douglas Chicago address, July 9; Lincoln's reply at Springfield.

(2) The Challenge: letters—Lincoln's, Douglas's; reasons for challenge, attitude of Douglas.

- (3) The Debates: number; places and sections of State; questions by each—answers; leading arguments; tone and spirit of debaters; its reception by the country; effects in Illinois, in the Nation, on Douglas—in the South, on Lincoln—in history.

(c) *Result.*

(1) On senatorial contest.

(2) In nation's history.

(d) *Personnel:* H. White, Colfax.

Questions: (1) What was Douglas's standing with Republican leaders in winter of 1858? (2) How was he regarded by Southern Democrats? (3) How did Lincoln regard the proposed acceptance of Douglas as leader of a new anti-slavery party? (4) When and where did the debate between the two men really begin? (5) Object of Lincoln in formal challenge? (6) What was the most important question Lincoln asked Douglas? (7) Was Douglas's answer frank and clear? (8) Which one impresses you as the greater debater—why? (9) Which one gained standing as a result of the debate? (10) Did the debate affect Douglas's future in any way?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XVIII, 226-235; Schouler, V, 410-416; Rhodes, II, 307-347; Von Holst, VI, 269-299; H. Wilson, II, 566-577; Elson, Hist. U. S., 598-603; Greeley, Am. Conflict, I, 300-302; Blaine, Twenty Years, I, 143-155; Macy, Political Parties, 262-275; Johnson, Douglas, 348-392; Gardner, Douglas, 145-209; Carr, Douglas, 75-89; Nicolay and Hay, Lincoln, II, 135-170; Morse, Lincoln, III-160; Nicolay, Lincoln, II-130; Arnold, Lincoln, 139-152; Tarbell, Lincoln, I, 300-333; Herndon, A. Lincoln, II, 59-127; Hapgood, Lincoln, 123-150; Sheahan, Douglas, 380-434; Taylor, The Lincoln-Douglas Debates, N. A. Review, Vol. 189 (1909), 1-61.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 429-430; Caldwell, Am. Legislators, 164-165; Member of Western Bar, Douglas, 140-166; Sheahan, Douglas, 398-415, 426-429; Harding, Select Orations, 309-341; American Patriotism, 494-504; Gardner, Douglas, 145-239; Cooper, Am. Politics, Book III, 126-146; Nicolay and Hay, Works, Lincoln, I, 240-273, 275-518; Letters and Addresses of A. Lincoln, II-135; Bouton, The Lincoln-Douglas Debates; Political Debates Between Lincoln and Douglas.

(14) *Economic and Financial Problems, 1850-1860.*

(a) *Internal Improvements and the West.*

- (1) Era of railroad building: formation of trunk lines; seaboard to the plains; connection of East and West; displacement in part of river transportation; lessening of North and South traffic; enormous investment capital; opening up of new West; discussion of Pacific R. R.—sectional contest; land grants for railroad construction.

- (2) Political phase: attitude of parties; vetoes of bills.
- (b) *Land policy.*
 - (1) Free homes; development of homestead policy; law—veto by Buchanan—reasons; adoption, 1861.
 - (2) Grants for internal improvements; amounts, plans, leaders—Douglas, etc.; tendency.
- (c) *Speculation and Crisis.*
 - (1) Development, 1853: 1857; lands, railroads, West.
 - (2) Effect: on prices, importations, migration.
 - (3) Reaction and crisis, 1857; origin, spread, extent, assigned causes; severity in North, reasons; effects, recovery.
- (d) *The Tariff, 1857.*
 - (1) Revenue: amount; payment debt, accumulation of supplies—reasons.
 - (2) Public sentiment: world wide antagonism to protection; prosperity and satisfaction with low tariff in U. S.
 - (3) Law 1857: terms, position parties, position section; Morrill tariff 1859-1861—causes of introduction, character.
- (e) *Banking.*
 - (1) Development: increase number, character State laws; paper money issues—"Wild Cat" banking.

Questions: (1) What marked change in the direction of western commerce well under way in the 50's? (2) What reasons for and significance in the change? (3) What controversy over location of a Pacific railroad—why? (4) Were the land grants to railroads in harmony with strict construction of the constitution? (5) What were Pres. Buchanan's objections to the homestead policy? (6) Was it a sectional measure? (7) Was the tariff high or low during this debate? (8) Was the country prosperous or not? (9) Compare the conditions of 1856 with those of 1836. (10) Compare those of 1857 with those of 1837.

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XVIII, 59-74, 174-189; Rhodes, II, 281-282; III, 1-56; Schouler, V, 363-364, 386-388; Von Holst, VIII, 282-311; Elson, Hist. of U. S., 616-619; Johnson, Railway Transportation, 24-27; Hadley, Railroads; Ringwalt, The Am. Transportation System; Hewes, The Am. Railway; Coman, Industrial Hist., 212-254; Dewey, Financial Hist., 259-270; J. H. U. Studies, IV, 170-177; Mag. of Am. Hist., Vol. 17, 163-165; Bolles, Financial Hist., II, 455-461; Kinley, Independent Treasury, 176-180; Juglar, Panics, 82-93; Burton, Financial Crises, 284-287; Evans, Hist. of the Crisis of 1857, 92-147; Dunbar, Economic Essays, 266-293; Taussig, Hist. of the Tariff, 115-154; Stanwood, The Tariff Controversy, II, 111-115; Seward, Seward II, 359; Johnson, Douglas, 309-316.

Source: Donaldson, Public Domain, 261-268, 332-349; Richardson, Messages, V, 608-614; Callender, Economic Hist., 690-692; Cluskey, Political Text-Book, 523-526, 640-641; Moore, Works of Buchanan, X, 300-309, 443-450; Cong. Globe, 1857-8; App. 465-479 (Int. Improvements), 427-430 (Pacific R. R. Bill), 430-435 (Homestead Bill); 1856-1857, App., 188-193, 215-218, 225-228, 327-358 (Tariff); Cooper, Am. Politics, Book III, 123-126.

(15) *The Last Straws in the Process of Sectionalization.*

(a) *Breach in the Churches.*

(1) Divisions: Methodists, 1845; Presbyterians.

(2) Sectional tendencies: Baptist, Disciple, Episcopal, etc.

(b) *Rescues of Fugitive Negroes.*

(1) The Wellington case, 1858: environment—Oberlin, radical, station on underground railway; seizure of negro, John; release by "mob;" arrest and trial of liberators, Bushnell, etc.; speeches of attorneys—Riddle, Spalding; of Governor Chase; resistance—physical, political.

(2) Effect: condemnation of fugitive slave law; excitement at South.

(c) *Helper, "Impending Crisis."*

(1) Character of book: position on slavery, statistics; advice to "poor whites."

(2) Effects: approval by Northern leaders; condemnation by South—reasons; bitter sectional feeling.

(d) *The John Brown Raid, 1859.*

(1) The man: earlier career, business—success; in Kansas—radicalism, course; friends; character, poise, ideals; courage, practical wisdom.

(2) His purpose: preparation—constitution of government, character; equipment—men, arms, money; aim—freedom negroes; farm near Harper's Ferry.

(3) The attack on Harper's Ferry: date, resources, expectations; fright of people; fate of his party, capture of Brown.

(4) Trial and execution: the court, his bearing and testimony; condemnation and death—wisdom of execution.

(5) Effects: on North—a martyr, a maniac, a traitor; on South—a typical representative of North; secession a necessity.

(e) *Personnel:* J. Brown, Riddle, F. Douglass.

Questions: (1) Significance of the churches dividing into North and South branches. (2) How did such "rescues" as the one at

Wellington, Ohio, affect relationship between the North and the South? (3) Who was Helper? (4) How was his book used in the North? (5) Why was it so bitterly attacked by the South? (6) What estimate do you make of John Brown? (7) Was his death a tactical mistake? (8) Was his invasion of Va. generally approved in the North? (9) What reason had the South to think it was? (10) In what way did his act affect conditions in 1860-1861?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XVIII, 236-248, 263-304; XIX, 17-108; Rhodes, II, 360-367, 384-414; Von Holst, VII, 1-59, H. Wilson, 587-600; Macy, Political Parties, 276-282; Schouler, V, 437-444; Alexander, A Pol. Hist. of N. Y., II, 256-269; Elson, Hist. U. S., 604-608; Johnson, Douglas, 412-415; Wise, Life of H. A. Wise, 240-261; Stovall, Toombs, 169-174; Greeley, Am. Conflict, 279-298; Smith, A. Political Hist. of Slavery, I, 265-270; Blaine, Twenty Years in Cong., I, 154-157; Wise, Seven Decades, 241-254; Botts, Great Rebellion, 177-179; Foote, War of the Rebellion, 256-263; Garrison's Garrison, III, 476-493; Frothingham, G. Smith, 234-252; Schucker's Chase, 191-192; Sanborn, Dr. S. G. Howe, 253-277; Sears, Wendell Phillips, 201-207; Wise, End of An Era, 113-136; Hinton, John Brown, 229-412; Redpath, J. Brown, 187-407; Sanborn, Life and Letters of J. Brown, 418-632; Nicolay and Hay, II, 190-215; Snider, The Am. Ten Years War, 219-261; Young, Am. Statesman, 1000-1012; Newman, Hist. of Baptists of U. S., II, 443-467; Thompson, Presbyterians, 129-149; Buckley, The Methodists, 407-476.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 430-431; Hart, Contemporaries, IV, 144-150; Sanborn, Life and Letters of John Brown, 418-632; Cong. Globe, 1859-1860, Part 3, App., 88-93, 104-108; Senate, Reports 36th Cong., 1st Session, No. 278.

Special: Am. Hist. Ass. Reports (1890), 113-126.

(16) *The Election of 1860.*

(a) *Essential Issues.*

- (1) Constitutional: location of sovereignty.
- (2) Slavery: extension into new territory; protection in, or exclusion from existing territory; revival of slave trade.
- (3) In Pennsylvania: the tariff.

(b) *Parties and Their Action.*

- (1) Republican: location convention—the "Wigwam," spirit and excitement; leading candidates, Seward, Chase, Cameron, Bates, Lincoln; rivalries; promises of Lincoln's managers; nominees—Lincoln and Hamlin; platform—on slavery, polygamy, internal improvements, the tariff.
- (2) The Union party: nominees—Bell and Everett; no platform except the Constitution and the Union; composition, significance.

- (3) The Democrats: location convention—Charleston, its appearance and character; delegates—character, earnestness; the platform, their reports—Radical Southern, Douglas, and B. F. Butler; adoption Douglas platform—secession radicals of south; balloting—two-thirds rule; no nomination, adjournment to Baltimore; final action—nomination of Douglas and Johnson by one wing, Breckenridge and Lane by other.
- (c) *The Campaign.*
- (1) Intensity; recognition of its importance; Republican "Wide Awakes;" Douglas on stump; argumentative—sober speeches, calm pamphlets.
- (2) Struggle for the October States—Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania—tariff in latter.
- (d) *Results.*
- (1) Vote: states—free; except part of N. J. all for Lincoln, Electoral; Lincoln 180, Breckenridge 72, Bell 39, Douglas 12; popular, Lincoln, 1,857,000; Douglas, 1,291,000; Breckenridge, 850,000; Bell, 646,000.
- (2) Future: see later outlines.
- (e) Everett, Breckenridge, S. Cameron, Bates, C. Schurz.

Questions: (1) How far had sectionalization gone by 1860? (2) What were the leading sectional questions? (3) Was sectionalism a veneer, or fundamental? (4) What caused the split in the Democratic party? (5) Relation between this division and Republican success, if any. (6) What recruits did the Republicans gain between 1856 and 1860? (7) Compare the two leading conventions. (8) How did the two-thirds rule affect the Democratic party? (9) Compare the campaign with that of 1856 for intensity and enthusiasm. (10) Nature of Douglas's speeches after the October State elections.

General References, Secondary: Stanwood, Presidency, 279-297; McClure, Our Presidents, 154-182; Macy, Pol. Parties, 283-300; Am. Nation, XIX, 109-135; Von Holst, VII, 110-248; Rhodes, II, 440-501; Schouler, V, 454-468; Burgess, Civil War, I, 45-73; Cooper, Am. Politics, part I, pp. 81-87; Young, Am. Statesman, 1043-1049; Fess, Pol. Theory, 298-313; G. C. Lee, True Civil War, 131-155; Curtis, Rep. Party, I, 350-365; Elson, Sidelights, II, 1-24; Elson, U. S., 608-614; Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, II, 216-295; Nicolay's Lincoln, 136-160; Tarbell's Lincoln, I, 334-386; Morse's Lincoln, I, 161-179; Arnold's Lincoln, 153-171; French's Lincoln, 142-169; Holland's Lincoln, 216-248; Johnson's Douglas, 412-441; Gardner's Douglas, 226-230; Carr's Douglas, 90-104; Lothrop's Seward, 193-202; Bancroft's Seward, I, 520-553; Seward's Seward, II, 447-476; Baker's Seward, IV.,

74-115; Hart's Chase, 178-196; Curtis's Buchanan, II, 262-315; Pierce's Sumner, III, 603-621; Foulke's Morton, I, 73-84; Garrison's Garrison, III, 494-509; Stearn's Stearn, 219-234; Dodd's Davis, 174-188; Cleveland's Stephens, 140-147; Johnston and Browne's Stephens, 353-366; Butler's Benjamin, 191-224; Du Bose's Yancey, 439-540; Stovall's Toombs, 199-204; Am. Hist. Review, IV, 651-664.

Sources: McKee, Convs. and Platforms, 106-120; Cluskey, Pol. Text Book, 789-802; Cooper, Am. Politics, part 2, pp. 41-43; Hart, Contemporaries, IV, 151-163; W. H. Smith, Pol. Hist. Slavery, I, 268-303; Wilson, Slave Power, II, 673-704; Greeley, Am. Conflict, I, 299-327; Botts, Rebellion, 179-181; Blaine, 20 Years Congress, I, 215-241; Davis, Confederacy, I, 47-53; Davis, War Between the States, II, 271-277, 677-709; Pollard, Lost Cause, 76-81; Greeley, Recollections, 389-393; Lunt, Origin of the War, 342-379; Mrs. Davis's Davis, I, 667-685; Nicolay and Hay, Works of Lincoln, I, 599-655; Baker, Works of Seward, IV, 303-430, 679-690; Sumner, Works of Sumner, V, 190-356.

(17) *Contrast Between the Two Sections, 1860.*

(a) *Population.*

(1) North: number; white; colored; military spirit and training; dash and staying qualities; unity of race and spirit; increase—immigration.

(2) South: White, slaves, free negroes; available for soldiers; military capacity; homogeneity; growth, replacement, losses.

(b) *Area and Climatic Conditions.*

(1) Number of sq. mi.; availability—improvement.

(2) Climate: less protection in South.

(c) *Resources.*

(1) Agricultural: productions—available for subsistence, or home use; comparison in grains, cattle, swine, etc.; in means of preservation.

(2) Commerce and transportation: foreign—blockade of South; domestic—development of river navigation, railroads and canals in each section; early loss to south of Miss. river.

(3) Manufactures: equipment in machinery, in skilled labor, in free capital; importation—blockade, payment.

(d) *Advantages of Position.*

(1) South: on the defensive, shorter lines of communication, friendly population—information.

(2) North: control of sea—supplies; market for produce; crushing a revolutionary movement.

Questions: (1) Summarize the advantages of the South in a Civil War. (2) Outline those of the North. (3) Which preponderated—and why? (4) Was the disparity any greater than necessary? (5) What changes between 1850 and 1860 worked to the advantage of the North? (6) To which one of these changes did the South fail to give due weight? (7) Which one of the two sections could adapt itself to changed conditions most readily? (8) What two or three elements finally proved to be dominant?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XIX, 1-16, XX, 1-18; Elson, Hist. U. S., 621-623, 643-644, 647-649; Compté de Paris, Hist. of Civil War, I, 76-106, 172-195, 197-217, 292-315; Ropes, Story of Civil War, I, 98-120; Scharf, Hist. of Confederate Navy, 15-52; Cox, Military Reminiscences of Civil War, I, 1-20, 165-191; Schwab, The Confederate States of Am., 1-18, 267-283, and table of contents; Greeley, Am. Conflict, I, 497-515; Draper, Civil War, II, 94-107, 131-148, 160-173, III, 635-656; Davis, A Short Hist. of Confederate States, 72-78, 113-125; Rise and Fall of Confederate Gov't, I, 301-318, 471-519; Curry, Civil Gov't of Confederacy, 142-168; Brown, Lower South, 155-187; Capes, Life of Munniger, 310-340; Coman, Industrial Hist., 246-254; Callender, Economic Hist. of U. S., 752-818; Wright, Industrial Evolution of U. S., 143-158; Bogart, Economic Hist. of U. S., 251-264; North Am. Review, vol. 92, 1-15. . .

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 433-451; Hart, Contemporaries, IV, 314-323; Census Report, 1860; Kettell, Southern Wealth and Northern Profits; De Bow, Resources of the Southwest, Table of Contents; Olmstead, Cotton Kingdom; Helper, Impending Crisis.

(10) *The Secession Movement, 1860-1861.*

(a) *Theory on Which Action Taken.*

(1) Nature of the Union: sovereign States; a constitutional right, a legal right; an historical growth.

(2) Strength: in the South; few supporters in North.

(b) *Action Under the Doctrine.*

(1) South Carolina: immediate occasion—Lincoln's election; steps in development—call of convention, its assembly, ordinance, Dec. 20, 1860; terms; statement of justifying reasons—discussion; addresses—subject matter; legislative measures; resignation of federal officers; raising flag—independence.

(2) Movement in Gulf or cotton States: possibility of retention in Union—dependent on compromises; statement Davis and Toombs; conventions—debates; secession—Miss., Jan.

9; Fl., Jan. 10; Ala., Jan. 11; Ga., Jan. 19; La., Jan. 25; Tex., Feb. 1; Union or cooperative sentiment; convention action final; formation of Confederate government, Feb. 4-9.

- (3) Third wave in secession: following Ft. Sumter and call for volunteers: Va., Apr. 17; Ark., May 6; N. C., May 21; Tenn., June 24; earlier rejection—reasons for change; submission to vote people.

(c) *The Border States.*

- (1) Lincoln's Border State policy: neutrality, Union.

(d) *Attitude of the North.*

- (1) Early: disbelief in possibility of secession; exceptions.

- (2) Beginning of action: "Let Erring Sisters go in Peace," not universal.

- (3) Final: nearly unanimous for coercion.

(e) *Personnel:* Rhett, B. F. Wade, M. Blair, F. P. Blair.

Questions: (1) How long had the secession movement been an active one? (2) How large a proportion of the people seem to have fully realized the danger of secession at the time? (3) On what theory of the constitution was secession based? (4) On what ground did many in the North even admit the right of the South to go out of the Union? (5) How many waves of secession? (6) Could any measure have retained South Carolina after Lincoln's election? (7) Is there a fair probability that secession might have been stopped at that point by compromise? (8) Who seemingly made the necessary compromise impossible? (9) Ought the Republicans to have yielded as much as was necessary to prevent Civil War? (10) How were the Border States saved to the Union?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat., XIX, 136-165, 184-204, 278-288; Schouler, V, 469-512; Rhodes, III, 115-393; Von Holst, VII, 249-392; Burgess, Civil War, I, 74-166; Sparks, U. S., II, 237-258; Andrews, U. S., II, 305-341; Elson, U. S., 624-646; Elson, Sidelights, II, 26-48; G. C. Lee, True Civil War, 156-184; Thorpe, Const. Hist. U. S., II, 561-631; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., II, 280-363; Willoughby, Am. Const. System, 61-99; Macy, Pol. Parties, 301-317; Curtis, Rep. Party, I, 366-386; Young, Am. Statesman, 1077-1141; Cooper, Am. Politics, part 1, pp. 87-119; Cluskey, Moore, Am. Congress, 375-383; Snider, Am. Ten Years War, 330-434; Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, II, 296-328, 372-399, 428-438; Morse's Lincoln, I, 180-272; Nicolay's Lincoln, 175-190; Tarbell's Lincoln; Lothrop's Seward, 203-253; Bancroft's Seward, II; Seward's Seward, II, 477-549; Johnson's Douglas, 442-489; Gardner's Douglas, 226-239; Carr's Douglas, 114-143, 252-275; McLaughlin's Cass, 340-366; Foulke's Morton, I, 85-

100; Storey's Sumner, 178-196; McCall's Stevens, 115-130; Adams's C. F. Adams, 117-146; Hamlin's Hamlin, 376-405; Garrison's Garrison, IV, 1-39; Curtis's Buchanan, II, 330-573; Johnson and Browne's Stephens, 374-387; Cleveland's Stephens, 149-169; Dodd's Davis, 189-225; Stovall's Toombs, 209-221; Du Bose's Yancey, 543-571; Capers's Memmienger, 283-331.

Source: Caldwell, Survey, 174-179; Hart, Contemporaries, IV, 164-192; Harding, Orations, 362-391; Peabody, Am. Patriotism, 507-515; Johnston, Am. Orations, IV, 16-81; MacDonald, Doc. Source Book, 423-433; MacDonald, Select Documents, 441-442, 446-455; Ames, State Documents, 310-320; Am. Hist. Leaflets, I, No. 12 and II, No. 17; Cluskey, Pol. Text Book, 554; McPherson, Pol. Hist. Rebellion, 2-115; Moore's Rebellion Record, I, "introduction," "diary," pp. 1-227 of "documents," and parts of "poetry and incidents;" Davis, Confederacy, I, 57-85, 86-198, 199-246; Stephens, War Between the States, II, 278-424, 710-745; Pollard, Lost Cause, 82-133; Smith, Pol. Hist. Slavery, I, 304-350; Greeley, Am. Conflict, I, 328-350, 407-427, 473-496; Blaine, 20 Years Congress, I, 242-257, 292-312; Giddings, Rebellion, 448-466; Wilson, Slave Power, III, 1-21, 43-59, 109-219; Lunt, Origin of the War, 380-463; Botts, Rebellion, 181-222; Foote's Rebellion, 295-334; Greeley, Recollections, 394-399; Mrs. Davis's Davis, II, 1-47; Wise, Seven Decades, 255-282; Weed, Autobiography, 615-619; Sumner, Works of Sumner, V, 433-483; Baker, Works of Seward, IV, 645-678, 692; Moore, Works of Buchanan, XI, 1-209; Nicolay and Hay, Works of Lincoln, I, 655-695, II, 1-66; Richardson, Messages, V, 626-672, VI, 5-44; Richardson, Messages of Confederacy, I, 29-116; Atlantic Monthly, vols. 6 and 7; Harpers Magazine, vols. 21 and 22; Harpers Weekly, vols. 4 and 5.

(10) *Compromise Plans, 1860-1861.*

(a) *Spirit of Compromise.*

- (1) Early: no feeling of necessity; radicals—North and South against; moderates, approve.
- (2) Growth: development during winter; by Jan. 1861, perhaps majority of people for.

(b) *Proposals and Movements.*

- (1) In Senate: Dec. 6, motion for committee of 13; membership—Davis, Toombs, Southern radicals; Crittenden, Hunter, Powell, border State compromisers; Douglas, Bigler, Rice, Northern Democrats; Seward, Wade, Grimes, Doolittle, Collamer, Republicans; the Crittenden proposals—terms, discussion, rejection; responsibility for rejection—wisdom; proposition for submission to vote of people—feasibility, justice.
- (2) In House: committee of 33; propositions, terms, discussion, adoption, fate.

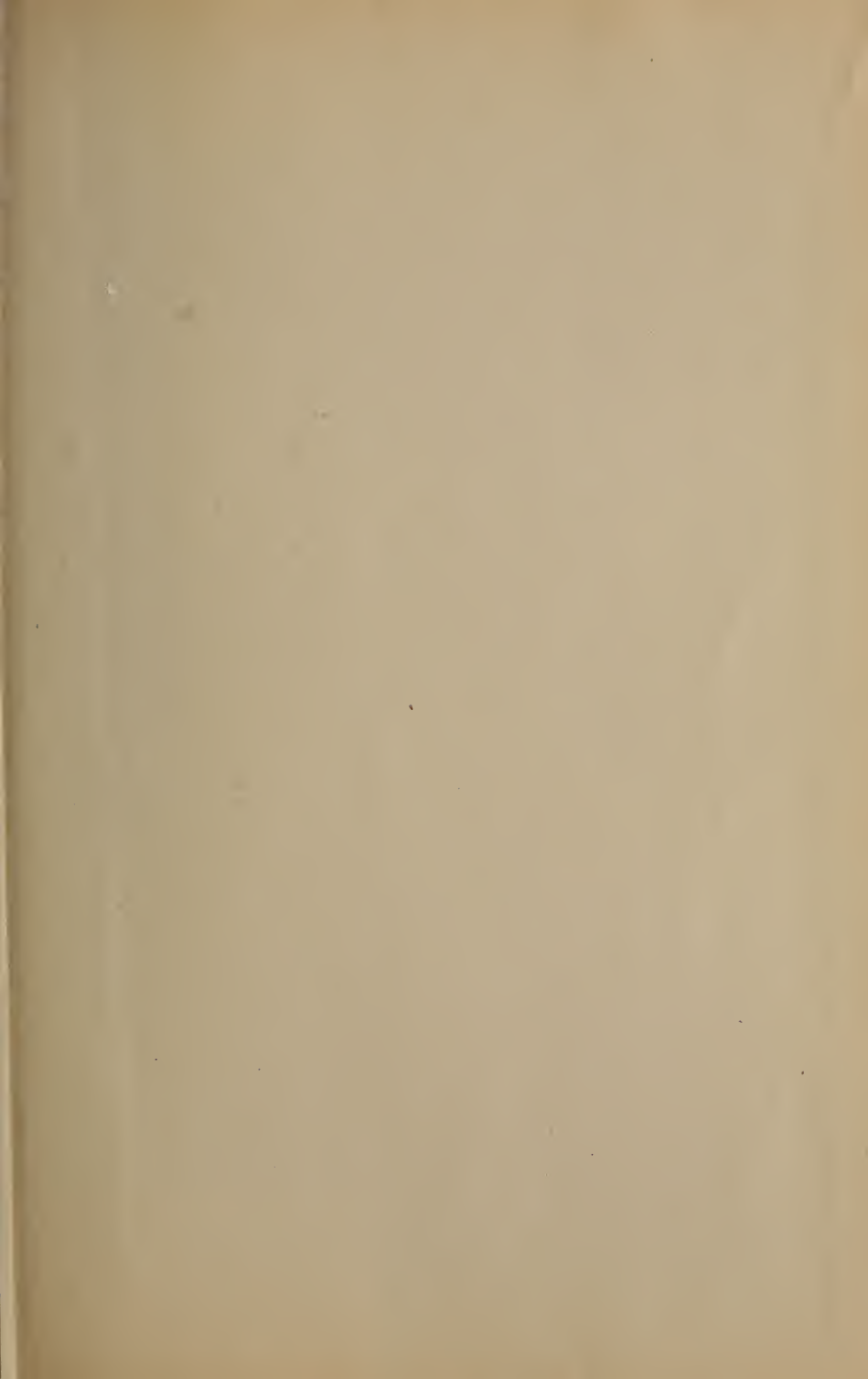
- (3) By Republicans—Seward, Lincoln; three propositions, terms, acceptance first.
- (4) The Peace Convention, Feb. 4-28, 1861; John Tyler, President; States present, absent; propositions, debates, action, failure.
- (5) The Thirteenth Amendment, 1861; adoption by Congress, signature of Lincoln, fate.
- (c) *Results*:
 - (1) On North: assistance in unification of sentiment.
 - (2) On war—none.

(d) *Personnel*: J. J. Crittenden, Grimes, A. Johnson.

Questions: (1) From what section did most of the compromise proposals come? (2) Did the North at first feel the need of compromise? (3) Had compromise been submitted to a popular vote in Feb. 1861, what probability of its carrying? (4) Where would such a vote have been weakest? (5) What terms embraced in the Crittenden plan? (6) How far were Lincoln and the Republicans ready to go? (7) How many attempts at compromise were made? (8) What amendment was finally proposed? (9) Compare it with the existing amendment. (10) In the light of the present can you outline any scheme that would have avoided war?

General References, Secondary: Am. Nat. S., XIX, 166-184, 265-289; Schouler, V, 493-497, 504-507; Rhodes, III, 145-182; 254-272, 281-291, 305-320; Burgess, Civil War and Constitution, I, 96-104, 108-116; Von Holst, VII, 356-359, 377-380, 393-460; Elson, 635-638; Young, Am. Statesman, 1066-1077, 1079-1100, 1111-1114, 1116-1125; Johnston, Am. Pol. Hist., II, 366-369; Moore, Am. Cong., 378-381; Macy, Pol. Parties, 311-317; Curtis, Republican Party, I, 368-384; Thorpe, Const. Hist., II, 617-631; Lee, True Hist. of Civil War, 171-175; Smith, Pol. Hist. of Slavery, I, 328-351; Nicolay and Hay, Lincoln, II, 400-428; III, 214-234; Morse, Lincoln, 188-229; Coleman, 224-250, and Index; Storey, Sumner, 178-197; Dawes, Sumner, 148-154; Garrison, Garrison, IV, 1-30; Hamlin, Hamlin, 380-391; Curtis, Buchanan, II, 418-447; Lothrop, Seward, 215-226, 237-254; Blaine, Twenty Years, 258-279; Schuckers, Chase, 203-207; Hart, Chase, 200-210; Stovall, Toombs, 205-209; Wise, Seven Decades, 271-278; Tyler, Letters and Times of the Tylers, II, 580-583, 593-618; Boutwell, Sixty Years in Public Affairs, I, 268-284; Fessenden, Fessenden, I, 123-130; Greeley, Am. Conflict, I, 351-407; Cooper, Politics, 104-109.

Source: Caldwell and Persinger, 454-455; Caldwell, Survey, 180-183; MacDonald, Select Documents, 438-446; Ames, State Documents, 313-316; Harper's Weekly, 1860-61; Harper's Mag., XXII, 406, 547, 689-691; Atlantic Mo., VII, 235-247; Chittenden, Peace Convention, etc.; McPherson, Pol. Hist. of Rebellion, 261-308, and Table of Contents; Warden, Chase, 368-370, 372-374, 377-380; Cong. Record for 1860-1861.



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